THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
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VOL. XVI.

VITA SANCTI AMBROSII

Mediolanensis Episcopi,

A PAULINO EIUS NOTARIO

Ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta,

A Revised Text, and Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation.

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF LETTERS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
SISTER MARY SIMPLICIA KANIECKA, M. A.
OF THE
Felician Sisters, O. S. F.
Lodi, New Jersey.

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PREFACE.

The Life of St. Ambrose by his deacon, Paulinus, is one of our chief sources for the life of the great bishop of Milan, and this fact alone would make it a work of some importance. Furthermore, as it may be considered among the major works of hagiography during the Patristic Period, it possesses a special interest in this field of Christian literature. Naturally, later biographers of Ambrose have drawn heavily on Paulinus as a source, and the *Vita* has been the subject of some study as a hagiographical work, but in itself it has never been made the object of a serious investigation. The purpose, then, of the present study is to supply this lack of special treatment of the *Vita* by editing it with a revised text, translation, commentary, and general introduction.

Nothing has been done with the text of Paulinus since it was edited by the Benedictines in their edition of Ambrose 1686-1690. In the present edition, using their text as a basis, I have made such alterations in the text as the readings of the several manuscripts [1] which I have at my disposal seem to support.

So far as I am able to learn, no translation of the *Vita* into any modern language has yet appeared. Furthermore, nothing by way of a commentary on the text has ever been written. In the translation I have tried to follow Paulinus faithfully and accurately, departing from his phraseology only where it is demanded for the sake of smoothness and readable English. Where Scriptural quotations agree with the Vulgate, I have given the rendering of the Douay Version; where the quotation differs from the Vulgate, I have used the Douay phraseology as nearly as possible.

The introduction includes, in addition to a summary of the main features of the vocabulary and syntax, a short discussion of the life of Paulinus, his relations with St. Ambrose, his literary activity, the reliability of the *Vita,* the occasion and the date of the composition, and a brief consideration of its text, style, and literary significance.

While special attention has been given in the commentary to the

[1] Cf. Introduction—Text, 6-7.

linguistic side of the work, other phases have not been neglected. In my treatment of vocabulary I have included all words occurring rarely or not at all in Classical Latin. The more common ecclesiastical words have been omitted. In my study of vocabulary I have employed the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (T. L. L.) as much as possible. My study of syntax has been based on the grammars of Kühner-Stegmann, Stolz-Schmalz, and the various monographs on Late Latin. In treating vocabulary and syntax I have made use of the following divisions: a) Ante-Classical, i. e. words and constructions occurring in authors before Lucretius; b) Classical—occurring in authors before Livy; c) Post-Classical—occurring in authors from Livy to the Antonines; d) Late Latin—from Apuleius on; Ecclesiastical—words used by Christian writers only.

References in the commentary and introduction are to sections rather than to chapters. The following abbreviations should also be noted: F. F. = Forcellini-Facciolati; K.-Schm.= Krebs-Schmalz Antibarbarus; K.-Steg.= Kühner-Stegmann; St.-Schm.=Stolz-Schmalz.

I am very glad to have this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness and sincere gratitude to Professor Roy J. Deferrari, head of the Department of Latin and Greek at the Catholic University, who suggested the subject and who with unsparing generosity and by the sacrifice of much valuable time aided me with continual encouragement and advice. I am also indebted to Dr. Martin McGuire, of the Catholic University of America, for the careful reading of the manuscript and for many valuable suggestions. Thanks are also due to Professor Romain Butin, S. M., Ph. D., of the Catholic University of America, who read the manuscript.

To my Superiors, Very Rev. Mother Mary Bonaventure, Superior General of the Felician Sisters, and Rev. Mother Mary Angelica, Provincial Superior of the Province of Lodi, N. J., whose kindly interest made possible the present work, I am sincerely grateful. Besides, I wish to acknowledge the kindness of all those who have in any way helped towards the completion of this work.

SR. M. S.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
April 11, 1928.

INTRODUCTION.

I. The Life of Paulinus of Milan.[1]

1. *Early Life and Training.*

Of the life of Paulinus we know very little. Apart from his relations with St. Ambrose and the Pelagian Controversy, Paulinus is practically unknown. Bouvy [2] states, without indicating his source, that he became one of the group of religious at the *Presbyterium* of Milan whilst yet young and that this brought him into close relationship with St. Ambrose, whose secretary he became in 395. After St. Ambrose's death he is mentioned [3] as a firm controversialist opposing the Pelagian heresy in Africa. Where he came from and how he came to enter the *Presbyterium* of St. Ambrose must remain matters of conjecture, but we may reasonably suppose with Schoenemann [4] that he was born at Milan or at least came to that city at a comparatively early age.

The date of Paulinus' birth cannot be arrived at even approximately, since there is no reference even to the time when he entered St. Ambrose's school, and the scant details of his life that are recorded appear to be matters of inference rather than established facts. There is reason to believe, however, that he flourished between 375 and 422 A. D., since St. Ambrose founded the *Presbyterium* about the year 375 and, as we have noted above, Paulinus entered it at an early age [5]; and because 422 is considered the latest probable date for the composition of the *Vita S. Ambrosii* and Paulinus is entirely lost sight of after this date.

In speaking of the education of Paulinus we must treat briefly

[1] Paulinus, Deacon of Milan, must not be confused with Paulinus, the bishop of Nola, who lived between 354 and 431, a contemporary of our author.

[2] Paulin de Milan, Revue Augustinienne, vol. I (1902), 499.

[3] Marius Mercator, Commonitorium super nomine Coelestii, cap. I; St. Augustine, *De Gest. Pelag.*, cap. IX, 23; *et Peccat. Origin.*, cap. XI, 12.

[4] Bibliotheca patrologia latina, II, 507.

[5] Bouvy, *Paulin de Milan:* Revue Augustinienne, I (1902), 499.

of the *Presbyterium* of St. Ambrose, founded at Milan, in which Paulinus received his ecclesiastical training. This *Presbyterium* resembled a monastery in which St. Ambrose gathered about himself certain men of the Church, living with them that community life for which our Lord had given the example, and in which the holy bishop found great strength and personal joy. "It is a group of angels," writes he,[6] "where one is occupied only in praising and serving God." Among the members, those priests and deacons already matured, as Castus and Polemius, who remained deacons, and Venerius, who later became bishop of Milan, and St. Felix, the bishop of Bologna,[7] helped St. Ambrose in various ways; the rest, younger and less advanced in orders, were under the direction of a deacon. In this ecclesiastical school then, and under the care of the deacon Castus, Paulinus of Milan tells us[8] that he was prepared for the fulfillment of his divine vocation.

According to St. Isidore, bishop of Seville,[9] Paulinus of Milan was raised to the dignity of the priesthood. It is possible that Paulinus could have attained this dignity in the latter part of his life, but that he was a religious of the Church of Milan with minor orders, we know from his own writings.[10] Marius Mercator[11] and St. Augustine,[12] who knew Paulinus well, tell us that in time he received the rank of deacon. Baronius conjectures[13] that Paulinus was honored with the diaconate later in life, being still at the death of St. Ambrose the holder of minor orders. This would be consistent with both Paulinus' and the statements of Marius Mercator and St. Augustine. In connection with the Pelagian controversy he is always referred to as Paulinus, deacon of Milan, and the fact that no more mention is made of his progress in the Church indicates that he never attained the higher honor of the priesthood.

[6] Epist. LXIII, 82.

[7] Vita S. Ambrosii, X, 46.

[8] Vita S. Ambrosii, IX, 42: *sub cuius cura degebam.*

[9] De viris illustribus, cap. XVII.

[10] Vita S. Ambrosii, IX, 42.

[11] Common. super nomine Coelestii, cap. I.

[12] De Peccat. Origin., num. 3, 8, and Contra duas epist. Pelag., lib. II cap. IV, 6.

[13] Tom. V. sub ann. 397, parag. 47.

2. *Paulinus and St. Ambrose.*

The very fact that St. Augustine requested Paulinus to act as a historian of his master indicates much about the relationship which existed between St. Ambrose and his secretary. That Paulinus formed part of the official retinue of the Bishop Ambrose is evident from the *Vita*[14] where our author, while recording the events of the year 395, makes mention of himself as being present and actually assisting at the finding of the bodies of Saints Nazarius and Celsus. On another occasion Paulinus relates[15] that he followed Ambrose to the palace "by virtue of our office," which shows that Paulinus really attended Ambrose in an official capacity. In 397 he was, in fact, Ambrose's secretary, for he tells us[16] that a few days before the bishop took to his bed he was dictating to him the 43rd Psalm.

Furthermore, the *Vita* contains evidence from which we may conclude that Paulinus was more to St. Ambrose than a mere official, in fact that he was on intimate terms of friendship with the great bishop. Thus we hear of Paulinus consoling St. Ambrose when he wept over the death of a bishop.[17] Again the reader is impressed by numerous personal touches. For example, Paulinus recognizes[18] in St. Ambrose a man of great asceticism and prayer, a devoted and sympathetic father of the poor and unfortunate, a zealous and watchful shepherd, a daily example to all who surrounded him. Paulinus was ever ready to stand in defence of his loving master, and on a certain occasion in Carthage, about fifteen or twenty years after the death of St. Ambrose, as we read in the *Vita,*[19] he energetically defended the outraged memory of the good bishop. In short, there runs through the *Vita* a warmth of feeling for St. Ambrose which could only spring from a deep and intimate friendship between him and his biographer.

3. *Paulinus After the Death of Ambrose.*

Sometime after the death of St. Ambrose, Paulinus went to Africa and made his home there, as is evident from the *Vita,* where

[14] Vita S. Ambrosii, VIII, 32-33.

[15] Vita, VIII, 35: *cum ad palatium pergeret eumque pro loco officii nostri sequeremur.*

[16] Vita, IX, 42.

[17] Vita, IX, 40.

[18] Vita, IX, 38-41.

[19] XI, 54.

he writes:[20] "in which we now live." It what city he took up his abode there is no mention, but we are certain that he spent some time in Carthage, since it was here that he met Coelestius, the companion of Pelagius, and that he brought the heretical doctrines of the former to the attention of Aurelius, then bishop of Carthage. It was likewise in Carthage, while at a banquet in the home of Fortunatus, the brother of Bishop Aurelius,[21] that he defended St. Ambrose against the detractions of Bishop Muranus. It was perhaps while he was in Africa that St. Augustine asked him to write the biography of St. Ambrose.

Just as the early life of Paulinus is practically unknown, the same may be said about his last days. We know that he took an active part in the Pelagian Controversy, which is treated at length below; but once this heresy was crushed in Africa and the Pelagian Controversy ended, the historians make no further mention of Paulinus.

II. Literary Activity of Paulinus.

Of the writings of Paulinus only two of undisputed authorship have come down to us: *The Vita S. Ambrosii* and the *Libellus aduersus Coelestium Zosimo Papae oblatus*. A further work, the *Libellus de benedictionibus partriarcharum*, has been ascribed to Paulinus but his authorship of this work is now disproved. Before taking up the *Vita*, the chief object of our study, let us briefly consider the two *Libelli*.

1. *Libellus Aduersus Coelestium Zosimo Papae oblatus.*

Paulinus, as we have mentioned above, took part in opposing vehemently the Pelagian heresy, the originator of which was a certain Pelagius, of whom very little is known prior to the heresy. Perhaps this Pelagian heresy would not have taken such a deep root had it not been for Coelestius, a friend of Pelagius, a man of restless and aggressive character. In 411 Pelagius and Coelestius, after a stay at Rome, traveled to Sicily and Africa. Pelagius, after a brief sojourn in North Africa, went to Palestine, and Coelestius tried to have himself made presbyter of Carthage. Here he began

[20] Vita, X, 51: *in hac prouincia, in qua nunc postii.*
[21] Vita, XI, 54.

to spread the Pelagian doctrine freely through the city, filling all with dissention. Paulinus, seeing this, warned Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, that Coelestius was teaching error and quoted from his writings seven distinct or inferential propositions, which he declared to be heretical. St. Augustine [1] and Marius Mercator [2] relate the perverse doctrine, of which Paulinus accused Coelestius. Coelestius, when ordered to renounce these doctrines by the bishops of a synod held at Carthage,[3] refused to do so and was excommunicated by the same synod.[4]

From Marius Mercator [5] we learn that, as this heretic did not recognize the sentence passed against him by the bishops of Africa, he appealed to the Apostolic See. Pope Zosimus, the successor of Pope Innocent I, gave ear to the appeals of Coelestius and summoned in 417 the deacon Paulinus, his accuser of five years before, to an interview.[6] Paulinus then, instead of appearing in person, sent Pope Zosimus a letter, justifying his attitude towards Coelestius. This letter has come down to us under the title: *Libellus aduersus Coelestium Zosimo Papae oblatus.*[7]

This *Libellus* or letter is very brief. It was written, according to some historians,[8] on the 8th of November, 416; however, Baronius [9] places its date a year later. In this letter, the author sets forth his reasons for not appearing at Rome in person and also thanks Pope Zosimus, not only because he condemned Coelestius but because he had asked that Coelestius should renounce the false doctrines with which Paulinus had charged him. Paulinus, in this *Libellus,* does not give evidence of any great theological depth or learning, his chief argument being that of authority. Still his vigilance and firm stand against Coelestius helped in some degree to crush Pelagianism in Africa.

[1] De gest. Pelag., cap. II, num. 23, and De peccat. origin., cap. XI, num. 12.
[2] Common. super nomine Coelest., I.
[3] In the year 416.
[4] St. Augustine, De peccat. origin., cap. III, num. 3.
[5] Common. super nomine Coelest. I.
[6] Zosim. Epist. II.
[7] Migne, PP.L. XX, 711-715.
[8] Noris. Hist. Pelag. lib. I, cap., 12, p. 121, 123.
[9] Ad ann. 418, parag. 11.

2. *Libellus de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum.*

Isidore of Seville states in his De Viris Illustribus[10] that Paulinus, a presbyter of Milan, wrote a work entitled *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* in which he sought to interpret the text (Gen. XLIX) in a threefold sense (*triplex intelligentia*). Isidore's authority was accepted by all subsequent writers before Tillemont. The latter states[11] that Isidore falsely attributed this work to Paulinus. Yet in 1751 Mingarelli published the *Libellus de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* and, on the strength of Isidore's statement, ascribed it to Paulinus of Milan. However, this work is concerned only with an interpretation in a twofold sense: the "*sensus litterarius*" (*historia*) and the "*sensus allegoricus*" (*spiritalis intelligentia*).[12] Hence it does not correspond to the work described by Isidore and, therefore, has no connection with Paulinus of Milan. In all probability, the *Libellus* in question, on the basis of definite MS. evidence, discovered several years ago by Wilmart,[13] should be assigned to Adrevald of Fleury-sur-Loire, who died in 878 or 879. As Bardenhewer says,[14] Isidore has again made a mistake. He seems to have had in mind the exegetical treatise *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* of Rufinus of Aquileia in which a threefold interpretation was given (*sensus historialis, mysticus, moralis.*)

III. The Text.

The text of this edition is based on the so-called Benedictine edition of J. de Frische and N. le Nourry, Sancti Ambrosii opera omnia, 2 vols., fol., Paris, 1686-1690, with such changes as the readings of four MSS. would seem to justify. The MSS, three from

[10] De Viris Illustribus Liber, cap. XVII: Paulinus, presbyter, explicit Benedictionibus patriarcharum triplici intelligentiae genere librum satis succincta breuitate compositum. idem etiam, petente Augustino, conscripsit Ambrosii uitam signis florentem, atque doctrinis et meritis apostolorum non imparem. siquidem et Constantius episcopus Germani uitam contexuit, obitumque Paulini Oranius edidit.

[11] Mémoires Eccl. tom. XII, 310.

[12] Bardenhewer, vol. IV, 544.

[13] Le Commentaire des Bénédictions de Jacob attribué à Paulin de Milan *in:* Revue Bénédictine, vol. 32 (1920), 57-63.

[14] Bardenhewer, vol. IV, 544.

the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and one from Pembroke College, Cambridge, England, were collated from photostatic copies. A description of each of the four MSS. is as follows:[1] A—Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica, B 2.13 ch., saec. XV (1462). Paulinus de uita S. Ambrosii. On the whole, it is carefully written and the text is complete. B—Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 3779. Olim Cluniacensis (?), deinde Thuaneus, deinde Colbertinus 612, postea Regius C 3759.6. Foliorum 229 med. (O^m, 30 X 0, 25), columnis binis, exaratus saec. X. Vita Sancti Ambrosii episcopi quod est pridie nonas Aprilis (fol. 153^v-165^r). Auctore Paulino. The text, very carefully written, is complete and closely related to A, although it is in some degree independent of it. C—Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 2076. Olim coenobii Deruensis deinde Petri Pithoei, deinde Thuaneus, deinde Colbertinus 1257, postea Regius C 5775.3. Foliorum 144 med. (O^m, 285 X 0, 23), columnis binis, exaratus saec. X. Vita Sancti Ambrosii episcopi (fol. 91^v-106^v). Up to Chapter VI, this MS. is very closely related to A and B, but beginning with Chapter VI to the end of the text, it varies considerably and becomes very inaccurate in case endings. We frequently came upon readings which were not found in the above mentioned MSS. The text is complete. D—Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 1771. Olim Colbertinus, deinde Regius C 3752.5. Foliorum 86 med. (O^m, 315 X O^m, 235), lineis plenis, exaratus diuersis manibus saec. VIII et IX. Vita Sancti Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis (fol. 49^r-59^r). Auctore Paulino. The text of this MS. is complete but contains numerous errors. Omissions and interlinear corrections are frequent. Also towards the end of the fourteenth paragraph a different hand can be detected.

The body of the text, in all MSS. consulted, is continuous, without any division into chapters and no chapter headings. The division into chapters and sections I have taken from the Benedictine Edition, the chapter headings have been taken over from Hurter's edition of the *Vita*.

[1] The description of the MSS. with the exception of A, which is from England, are taken from the Bollandist Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi.

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IV. Occasion and Date.

Paulinus[1] makes it known to us in his preface that he undertook the writing of the Life of St. Ambrose to comply with a request of St. Augustine. Since the latter lived for some time in Milan[2] and frequented the home of St. Ambrose, he most probably met Paulinus there, then a religious in minor orders. Several years after the death of St. Ambrose, as we have remarked above, Paulinus betook himself to Africa, where he again met St. Augustine. Knowing of Paulinus' relations with the holy bishop Ambrose and his deep attachment and veneration for his deceased master, Augustine asked him to write the Life of St. Ambrose. He pointed out[3] to him as models three biographies then celebrated in the Latin Church: The "Life of St. Anthony by the Blessed Bishop Athanasius, the Life of St. Paul by the Blessed Priest Jerome, and the Life of Blessed Martin, Bishop of Tours, by Sulpicius Severus, a servant of God."

Finally, yielding to the petition of St. Augustine, Paulinus put himself to the task and composed the prologue of the *Vita*, dedicating the work to St. Augustine. Some of the older ecclesiastical historians seem to believe that the Life was written in Milan, but it is certain that Paulinus wrote it in Africa, since he himself says so.[4]

There is nothing in the work itself or in the early writers to supply us with a statement as to the exact date of the composition of the *Vita*. According to Paulinus[5] he was writing the Life when John was Praetorian Prefect, who according to the Theodosian Code[6] held this office in 412-413 and 422.[7] In addition to the above evidence, we read in the *Vita*[8] that Venerius was the successor of St. Simplicianus, and according to all chronologies,

[1] Vita, I, 1.
[2] Conf. Bk. V, 13.
[3] Vita, I, 1.
[4] Vita, X, 51; XI, 54.
[5] Vita, VIII, 31.
[6] Gothofredus, Prosopographia Codicis Theodos., 61.
[7] He entered office on June 6, 412, and his first term expired on June 12, 413. He was again given this office in 422, his term commencing on July 11 of that year. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie, vol. IX, 1744.
[8] Vita, X, 46.

Venerius governed the Church of Milan from 400 to 409 A. D. and is completely lost sight of after 412. Again in the *Vita*[9] we find the statement concerning St. Felix, "he now governs the Church of Bologna," meaning at the time Paulinus was writing the Life. History informs us that St. Felix was bishop of Bologna from 400 to 430, when he was succeeded by St. Petronius.[10] Paulinus,[11] furthermore, makes the statement that Zenobius is "now bishop of Florence," who, in fact, held the episcopal see in Florence until either 417 or 424. Antoninus, the successor and biographer of St. Zenobius, informs us that St. Zenobius died in 424, which was during the pontificate of Pope Innocent I. There is evidently a discrepancy in this statement of Antoninus as history places the death of Innocent I in 417. If it can be proved that St. Zenobius died in 417, then the exact date of the composition of the *Vita* would be 412-413 or during John's first term as Praetorian Prefect. But since the date of the death of St. Zenobius is uncertain, although there is good ground for believing that he actually died in 417, we must be content with ascribing the date of the composition of the *Vita* to the period between 412-422.

V. Reliability of the Vita.

The *Vita S. Ambrosii* belongs to the type of literature known as hagiography, the primary purpose of which is religious, namely, the edification of the reader. This type of literature partakes of the nature of biography, panegyric, and moral instruction. In most of the ancient lives of saints we note that a certain definite method of procedure is followed. Thus in a case of a saint who—like Saint Ambrose—was not a martyr, the "life" is ordinarily divided into three parts: 1. Before the saint's birth: his nationality, his parents, prophesies of his future greatness. 2. His life: childhood, youth, the most important events in his career, his virtues, his miracles. 3. His cultus, and miracles after

[9] Vita, X, 46.

[10] Some of these dates are discussed by Van Ortroy, Les Vies Grecques de S. Ambroise, 7-8.

[11] Vita, X, 50.

death. The profession or quality of the saint is also subject to analysis.[1]

Paulinus found this type of literature already fixed, and St. Augustine[2] pointed out several models for him to follow. From these models he chose especially the Life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus. A glance at the structure of the *Vita S. Martini* will show how closely he followed this work.[3]

Since the purpose, then, of the hagiographer was primarily to edify his reader and give strength and inspiration to his spiritual life, we must not be surprised to find that many *Vitae* do not fulfil the requirements of biography in our strictly scientific interpretation of the term. The *Vita* of Paulinus especially fails miserably when judged by our standards. Thus Paulinus pays no heed whatever to chronological details and we can fix the dates of many of the events mentioned in the *Vita* only by consulting Ambrose's own works and other writers and documents of the time. Again, we would never gather from the narrative of Paulinus that St. Ambrose was one of the really great figures of his age, one of the last great personalities of the Western Empire. The great bishop's activity in civil affairs is merely touched on incidentally by his biographer and in more than one instance the latter shows he had but little understanding of his hero's career. Furthermore, as De Labriolle[4] points out, Paulinus does not give us all the information which he should on the religious side of St. Ambrose. Hence from our point of view, we must admit with Schanz[5] that on the whole the *Vita* is something of a disappointment. However, apart from the defects mentioned, it possesses considerable value inasmuch as it contains many interesting details of St. Ambrose's private life which have not come down to us in any other work.

In connection with the information furnished by the *Vita* the significant question naturally arises: what credence can be given to the narrative of Paulinus? The integrity of the writer cannot be questioned. He was held in high esteem by St. Ambrose and

[1] Delehaye, H., Legends of the Saints, 98.
[2] Vita S. Ambrosii, I, 1.
[3] Introduction—Style and Literary Significance, 37.
[4] Saint Ambroise, 2-3.
[5] Römische Literaturgeschichte, vol. VIII, 286.

St. Augustine; and two popes, Innocent I and Zosimus, recognized in him a resolute defender of the doctrines of the Church against the heretical teachings of Coelestius. The straightforward character of the narrative bears witness to his conscientious and sincere effort to fulfill his task to the best of his ability. He was an eyewitness of many of the events narrated, and some of the witnesses whom he cites [6] for events which he has not seen himself are certainly above reproach or question. There is one serious charge, however, which we must make against him: that he did not use Ambrose's own works as much as he should for source material. The Letters of St. Ambrose especially would have been a rich mine of information for him, as those which are extant are, for us, for many details in his hero's life, yet he cites them but very seldom. In one instance, moreover, through lack of understanding or carelessness he misinterprets a very important passage relating to the affair of Thessalonica.[7]

Paulinus is further charged with being overcredulous. This is perhaps true to some extent, but it is at least certain that he records honestly what he himself believes to be true. The miracles which he reports on his own authority must be viewed as the evidence of a reliable witness. The character of the miracles which he reports on the authority of others depends on the credence which we can give to his informants. Those miracles which are accepted commonplaces in all early hagiographical literature need not concern us here, as they have been adequately discussed elsewhere.[8]

In conclusion, then, we may say that Paulinus is a conscientious and truthful writer, and that his narrative on the whole may be considered reliable. His chief defects, as a biographer—apart from lack of style—are the many omissions of important events and his failure to appreciate the full significance of St. Ambrose, especially in his political rôle. The omissions may be explained in part at least by the peculiar nature and purpose of the hagiographer men-

[6] St. Marcellina, Vita, I, 1; St. Simplicianus and St. Venerius, X, 46. St. Felix, bishop of Bologna, X, 46; St. Zenobius, bishop of Florence, X, 47; St. Bassianus, bishop of Lodi, X, 47; St. Honoratus, bishop of Vercelli, X, 47.

[7] Cf. Koch, H., *in:* Historisches Jahrbuch, vol. XXVIII (1907), 267-269.

[8] Delehaye, H., The Legends of the Saints, 50-59.

tioned above. Hence while we will admit that the work of Paulinus has serious shortcomings, we must declare that it is a gross injustice to say of it that it is "nothing better than morbid and monkish fiction." [9]

VI. Vocabulary.

In treating of the vocabulary of an author we are particularly interested in the new contributions made by him to the literary language. We know that Tertullian, the creator of the language of the Church, as he is termed by some writers, besides using many expressions borrowed from the *sermo cotidianus* of the period, introduced about 850 new words. Some of these are Greek words, taken over directly into Latin, others are Greek words with Latin termination, some are, in fact, classical terms but used to express strictly Christian ideas. The majority, however, are newly coined terms derived from Latin sources, that is, from roots and suffixes already existing. Successors to Tertullian, as St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome, did not play so important a part in the building of ecclesiastical Latin, although each contributed something. This cannot be said of Paulinus. The origin of all rare words and ecclesiastical terms found in the *Vita* must be sought elsewhere. He was a man of only mediocre mind; hence we expect and actually find his vocabulary to be quite limited.

It is my purpose here to furnish a list of words from the *Vita* that do not occur or rarely occur in Classical prose. A more detailed account of these, together with a discussion of all words that have changed their meaning, will be found in the commentary. The following references are to the sections and notes in the commentary.

1. *Nouns.*

A. Nouns in *-tor, -sor, -trix.*

peccator, sec. 56. Eccl.
confessor, sec. 6, n. 6. Eccl.
balneatrix, sec. 10, n. 3. Post-class.

[9] Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, vol. II, 89.

B. Nouns in *-tio, -sio,* (*io*).

consortio, sec. 19, n. 9. Post-class.
exsultatio, sec. 29, n. 4. Post-class.
generatio, sec. 33, n. 7. Post-class. and late.
impositio, sec. 28, n. 4. Post-class.
incarnatio, sec. 18, n. 2. Eccl.
persecutio, sec. 15, n. 1. Rhet. ad Heren. and Late.
portio, sec. 41, n. 22. Post-class. and Late, except the phrase *pro portione.*
relatio, sec. 8, n. 6 (message). Post-class. and Late.
resurrectio, sec. 55, n. 3. Eccl.
tribulatio, sec. 24, n. 2. Eccl.
ueneratio, sec. 27, (Cic. once). Post-class.
uisitatio, sec. 51, n. 9. Late.
professio, sec. 4, n. 3. Chiefly Post-class.
communio, sec. 19, n. 9. Cic. and rare except in Eccl. writers with change of meaning.

C. Nouns in *-tas.*

natiuitas, sec. 2, n. 6. Late.
prolixitas, sec. 19, n. 7. Late.
unitas, sec. 16, n. 3. Post-class.

D. Nouns in *-us, -um.*

catechismus, sec. 36, n. 5. Eccl.
catechumenus, sec. 7, n. 9. Eccl.
conuersus, sec. 41, n. 15 (religious conversion). Late.
hordeaceus, sec. 1, n. 22. Cato and Post-class.
hymnus, sec. 13, n. 6. Post-class. and Late.
leopardus, sec. 34, n. 12. Late.
profectus, sec. 24, n. 7. Poetic and Post-class.
reatus, sec. 31, n. 12. Post-class. and Late.
textus, sec. 49, n. 2. Poetic and Post-class.
amphitheatrum, sec. 34, n. 10. Post-class.
baculum, sec. 23, n. 11. Rare and Post-class.
carpentum, sec. 12, n. 8. Chiefly Poetic and Post-class.
monasterium, sec. 49, n. 6. Eccl.
orarium, sec. 48, n. 8. Late.
semicinctium, sec. 48, n. 9. Post-class. and Late.

E. Nouns in *-ium.*

auditorium, sec. 5, n. 3. (hall of justice). Post-class.
homicidium, sec. 16, n. 5. Post-class.
palatium, sec. 15, n. 4. Chiefly Poetic and Late.
sacrilegium, sec. 27, n. 7. Post-class.

F. Nouns in *-tia.*

infantia, sec. 3, n. 5. Four times in Cic. and Post-class.

G. Nouns in *-a, -ia.*

antiphona, sec. 13, n. 6. Eccl.
baptisma, sec. 7, n. 12. Eccl.
cathedra, sec. 48, n. 3. Poetic and Post-class.
exorcista, sec. 21, n. 4. Late.
mammona, sec. 41. Eccl.
synagoga, sec. 22, n. 5. Late.

H. Nouns in *-or.*

tenor, sec. 22, n. 11. Once in Cic. in the abl. Poetic, Post-class. and Late.

I. Nouns in *-culum.*

ferculum, sec. 1, n. 24 (dish). Early-Poetic and Late.

J. Diminutives.

infantulus, sec. 3, n. 10. Late.
loculus, sec. 52, n. 7. Poetic, Post-class. and Late.
sellula, sec. 10, n. 5. Post-class.

K. Miscellaneous.

martyr, sec. 14, n. 1 (martyr). Eccl.
presbyter, sec. 1, (priest). Eccl.

2. *Adjectives.*

A. Adjectives in *-bilis, -ilis.*

honorabilis, sec. 42, n. 9. Once in Cic. and rare.
inconuertibilis, sec. 17, n. 2. Eccl.
insuperabilis, sec. 20, n. 10. Poetic and Post-class.
inuiolabilis, sec. 41, n. 19. Poetic and Post-class.
uenerabilis, sec. 1, n. 2. Poetic and Post-class.

B. Adjectives in *-arius*.

usufructuarius, sec. 38, n. 8. Late.

C. Perfect Passive Participles used as adjectives.

illaesus, sec. 34, n. 13. Chiefly Poetic and Post-class.
mundatus, sec. 48, n. 5. Late.
positus, sec. 1, n. 5. Late.
superpositus, sec. 12, n. 7. Post-class.
coadunatus, sec. 11, n. 4. Post-class.

D. Miscellaneous.

innumeras, sec. 12, n. 1. Poetic and Post-class.
saecularis, sec. 7, n. 14. Post-class.

3. *Adverbs.*

aliquatenus, sec. 48, n. 10. Post-class.
amarissime, sec. 40, n. 1 (superlative). Post-class. and Late.
amodo, sec. 44, n. 4. Eccl.
festinato, sec. 27, n. 1. Post-class.
perseueranter, sec. 27, n. 15. Post-class.
qualiter, sec. 36, n. 4. Post-class.
sollicite, sec. 9, n. 4. Post-class. and Late.

4. *Verbs.*

A. Compound verbs.

alloqui, sec. 6, n. 11. Rare in Ante- and Class. Latin. Chiefly in August. poets and later prose writers.
concremare, sec. 22, n. 6. Post-class.
conscendere, sec. 7, n. 5. Rare in prose before August. poets.
consummare, sec. 51, n. 12. Post-class.
deambulare, sec. 3, n. 6. Rare, Ante- and Post-class.
exosculari, sec. 10, n. 7. Post-class.
expandere, sec. 47, n. 5. Poetic and Post-class prose.
increscere, sec. 41, n. 2. Poetic and Post-class.
interminari, sec. 45, n. 6. Poetic and Late.
internecare, sec. 20, n. 7. Ante- and Late Latin.
perpetrare, sec. 24, n. 5. Chiefly Ante- and Post-class.
praeualere, sec. 34, n. 9. Post-class.

praeuenire, sec. 39, n. 9. Post-class.
reaedificare, sec. 22, n. 10. Late.
reuelare, sec. 14, n. 3. Post-class.
superuiuere, sec. 32, n. 3. Post-class. and Late.
ualefacere, sec. 25, n. 3. Late.

B. Verbs derived from substantives.

hospitare, sec. 54, n. 9. Post-class.
operari, sec. 3, n. 12. Poetic, Post-class and Late.
stillare, sec. 1, n. 21. Once in Cic. mostly Poetic.
titulare, sec. 18, n. 18. Late.

C. Verbs derived from adjectives.

dignari, sec. 15, n. 5. Poetic and Post-class.
humiliare, sec. 39, n. 16. Late.
macerare, sec. 38, n. 3. Chiefly Poetic and Post-class.
pullulare, sec. 41, n. 1. Mostly Poetic and Post-class.

D. Verbs in *-izare, -hybrids.*

baptizare, sec. 38, n. 6. Eccl.

E. Miscellaneous.

glutire, sec. 47, n. 11. Early, Post-class. and Late.
nutrire, sec. 3, n. 7. Poetic, Post-class. and Late.

5. *Rare Forms and Peculiarities in Conjugation and Declension.*

A. Verb forms.

elouasset, sec. 20, n. 13. Add this example to the list of shortened perfect forms found in Neue-Wagner, Register.

B. Declension.

usufructuario, sec. 38, n. 8. Neuter abl. This is the only known instance of the word used as a neuter substantive.

C. Rare comparatives.

perseuerantius, sec. 27, n. 15. This comparative is quoted by Neue-Wagner only for Livy, 21, 10, 7.
refectior, sec. 47, n. 13. This comparative is cited by Neue-Wagner only for Mart. Capell. 2, 139.

D. Rare superlatives.

turbulentissime, sec. 6, n. 14. Neue-Wagner and F. F. cite only one example of this superlative, Sidon., Ep. 2, 13, 5.

Conclusion.

In summing up the main features of Paulinus' vocabulary in the *Vita* we have already noted that our author does not contribute any word to the existing language. We do find a number of comparatively rare words in this treatise, but they are found also in other writers, both Christian and pagan of the period. There is an extended use of poetic terms, especially Vergilian words, but that too is characteristic of the Fathers in general, and it does not surprise us to meet them in the present treatise. We also find a considerable number of Greek words in the *Vita,* all of which, however, are a definite part of the Christian Latin vocabulary. Like all ecclesiastical writers he employed many pagan words in a new significance to express Christian ideas. His collection of Ante- and Post-classical words contains nothing of special note. In his use of diminutives, however, he is very sparing, unlike most of the ecclesiastical writers of the period, but like his own teacher, St. Ambrose.

VII. Syntax.

The purpose of this section is to show in a summarized and connected form, how the syntax of the *Vita* differs from Classical norms. A more complete discussion may be found in the commentary.

1. *The Noun.*

A. Adjectives and Participles Used Substantively.

In Classical Latin, the adjective, when used substantively to designate a class, is rare in the singular masculine, feminine, and neuter, but very frequent in the neuter plural. What is said of the adjectives may also be applied to the participles, especially to the present participle. The following are the adjectives and participles used substantively in the *Vita.*

In the singular, masculine.

a. Genitive.

inferni, sec. 41, n. 12.
orantis et imponentis, sec. 10.
uocantis et dicentis, sec. 47.

b. Dative.

legenti, sec. 19.
paenitenti, sec. 39.
proficiscenti, sec. 8.
ridenti, sec. 35.

c. Accusative.

nescientem, sec. 4.
errantem . . . corrigentem, sec. 24.

Feminine.

1. Ablative.

a domestica, sec. 4, n. 6.
cum germana, sec. 9, n. 10.

Plural, masculine.

1. Genitive.

cunctorum, sec. 9, n. 5.
detrahentium, sec. 55.

2. Ablative.

gentilibus, sec. 1.
mirantibus, sec. 1.
perfidis, sec. 16, n. 1.

Neuter.

1. Accusative.

altiora, sec. 7, n. 5.
amoena, sec. 1.
inferiora, sec. 28.
interna, sec. 27, n. 12.

Perfect Passive Participle.

1. Accusative.

mortuam, sec. 11.

B. Employment of Cases.

a. Genitive case. With substantives.

In Paulinus as in all Late writers we find an extension in the use of the genitive with substantives. Among these the following classes are noted:

1. Genitive of identity.

aetatis infantiam, sec. 28, n. 14.
elegantiae pompam, sec. 1, n. 17.
superbiae tumore, sec. 18, n. 4.
exsequiarum turba, sec. 48.

2. Genitive of the noun in place of the adjective.

die nativitatis = *die natali,* sec. 2, n. 6.
uisu noctis = *uisu nocturno,* sec. 51, n. 5; sec. 52, n. 8.
medio noctis = *media nocte,* sec. 20.

3. Appositional genitive.

populos Iudaeorum, sec. 7.

4. Other uses of the genitive.

a) Partitive genitive.

tunc temporis, sec. 18 (peculiar to Late Latin and the jurists).

b) With adjectives.

aeui maturus, sec. 46, n. 12. The genitive of specification or the so-called Greek genitive is poetic and late.

b. Dative.

Nothing strikingly non-classical appears in Paulinus' use of the dative case in the *Vita.*

c. Accusative.

In the *Vita* the syntax of the accusative case presents for the most part such differences as are found in the poets and post-

classical prose. One of the most striking of these differences is the extension of the number of verbs employed transitively. The following instances of this phenomenon have been noted in the *Vita*.

abhorrere, sec. 24, with the acc. of the thing—Post-class. and Late. publicam paenitentiam non abhorreret.

conscendere, sec. 7, n. 5. Poetic and Post-class. In Class. Latin it takes acc. in certain set phrases. conscendit altiora.

dolere, sec. 44, n. 6. (with acc. of the part affected, late.) doluisse pedes.

flere, sec. 34 (once in Cic.) Poetic, Post-class and Late. factum diu fiere.

incubare, sec. 6, n. 8. Post-class. (*Incubare*, meaning "to take sole possession of" is followed by the genitive.) incubabat ecclesiam.

inuadere, sec. 13, n. 2. (Nepos) Poetic and Post-class. basilicam inuadere.

d. Ablative.

The divergencies from classical norms in the employment of the ablative in the *Vita* may be conveniently divided thus:

1. Ablative with certain adjectives.

plena fide . . . timore, sec. 28, n. 8. *Plenus* in Class. Latin regularly takes the genitive, although the abl. is occasionally found. In Post-class. and Late Latin the ablative becomes frequent but the genitive continues to be the more common.

sermone imparem, sec. 1. *Impar* with an ablative of specification is Post-class.

2. Ablative with certain verbs.

prouoluere, sec. 31, n. 18. prouolutus pedibus. (The common construction after *prouoluere* is *ad* and acc.)

3. Ablative of time for the accusative of duration of time.

aliquantis degeret *diebus*, sec. 27, n. 4.

plurimis diebus detineretur in lectulo, sec. 45, n. 2.

2. *The Preposition.*

On the whole, in the employment of the prepositions, we find a remarkable divergence from the classical usage in the present treatise, but Paulinus is only imitating his predecessors and showing himself in accord with writers of his day. We do not intend to give a full discussion of these divergences, since they are ably treated elsewhere.[1] The following are the principal differences noticed in the use of the various prepositions in the *Vita*.

A. Prepositions with the accusative:

AD.

a. Local use.

1. With verbs of motion:

demergere. demergit usque ad profundum, sec. 41, n. 11. *Demergo* with *ad* and the accusative is Late.

surgere. ad seditionem surgeret, sec. 6, n. 9. The use of *ad* with *surgo* is Poetic and Late.

2. With verbs of saying:

dicere. dictum ad Apostolos, sec. 10, n. 9. *Ad* after *dicere* and *aio* in place of the dative is Late.

3. With other verbs, dare, etc.:

dare. ad eundem dedit, sec. 27, n. 9. *Do* with *ad* or *in* and the accusative instead of the dative is common only in Post-class. prose.

b. Temporal use.

ad tempus, sec. 21, n. 6. This phrase *ad tempus* is rare in Classical Latin.

usque ad, sec. 47, n. 3. The use of *usque ad* in a temporal sense is Post-class. and Late.

c. Its use to express other relations.

1. Its employment to denote purpose or end is common in Classical Latin, but the usage becomes much more frequent in Late Latin.

praefectus est *ad tuitionem,* sec. 31, n. 16.

[1] Gabarrou, 109-110; Goelzer, 327; K.-Steg. II, 1, 488-492; St.-Schm. 393-395; Bayard, 137.

ad orationem perreximus, sec. 33, n. 2.
ad hoc tantum, sec. 7, n. 22.

CIRCA = ERGA.

The use of *circa = erga* is Post-class. and especially Late Latin. I have noted the following examples in the *Vita:*

cum intellegeret *circa se* Dei uoluntatem, sec. 9, n. 3; amor populi *circa fidem* . . . conualescebat, sec. 20, n. 6.

IN.

a) Final use.

erat *in iniuriam* sacrae legis, sec. 27, n. 16. *In* with the accusative is rarely used in Classical Latin to express purpose. It becomes frequent in Tacitus and thereafter.

b) Temporal use.

usque in hodiernum, sec. 13, n. 9 (passim). This phrase is confined to Post-class. and Late Latin.

c) in tantum, sec. 14, n. 6 (passim).

In with *tantum*, etc., is found in the Post-class. writers, and is especially frequent in Tacitus.

d) With verbs.

credere. crederent in . . . *unitatem*, sec. 16, n. 3; *credentem in se*, sec. 31, n. 2. *Credo* with *in* and the accusative instead of the dative is a common usage among the ecclesiastical writers.

inicere. in sacerdotem manus inicere, sec. 11, n. 12. *inicere manus in aliquem* is Late Latin.

INTRA.

Intra palatium, sec. 15, n. 3; intra Gallias, sec. 26, n. 3. This use of *intra* with the accusative for *in* with the ablative is Classical but rare.

PER.

per aetatis *infantiam*, sec. 28, n. 14. This use of *per* for *propter* or *ob* is mostly Post-class. and Late Latin.

per uisum cuidam apparuit, sec. 50, n. 4 and sec. 52, n. 8.

This use of *per* to express means or instrument is Classical but only becomes frequent in the Augustan poets, Post-classical, and late prose writers.

per idem tempus, sec. 6, n. 1 (passim). The use of this phrase as practically the equivalent of *eodem tempore* is already found in Sallust, but only becomes common in Livy and later writers. It occurs in the present treatise thirteen times.

SECUNDUM.

secundum Apostolum, sec. 39, n. 7 and sec. 41, n. 18. *Secundum* meaning "according to," although Classical, is especially common in ecclesiastical writers.

B./ Prepositions with the ablative:

DE.

a. *De* is used to express separation after the following verbs which in Classical Latin usually take *ab* or *ex.*

afferre, sec. 28, n. 9.
egredi, sec. 21, n. 3.
leuare, sec. 48, n. 6.
migrare, sec. 36, n. 6.
pellere, sec. 11, n. 5.
rapere, sec. 12, n. 3.
recedere, sec. 45, n. 4.
reuerti, sec. 32, n. 1.

b. The use of *de* in place of the partitive genitive.

pauca *de multis* ponenda duxi, sec. 27, n. 10. We should expect *ex* instead of *de* here.

c. Other uses of *de:* To express source. The following examples seem to be an extension of the classical usage in such expressions as: homo *de plebe,* homo *de schola;* and of Poetic and Post-class. phrases such as: neque me Argolica *de gente* negabo and *de nostro sanguine* miles.

uir *de haeresi* Arianorum, sec. 17, n. 1.
duces habebat *de perfidia* Arianorum, sec. 34, n. 8.
erat uir *de litore* Dalmatino, sec. 52, n. 11.

d. To express means.

securus de . . . potentia, sec. 31. The use of *de* with *securus* is cited once for Cicero (Letters). The usage only becomes common in Post-class. and Late writers.

CORAM.

coram Deo et hominibus, sec. 16, n. 7. The use of *coram* as a preposition with the ablative is rare but classical.

IN.

a. *In* with the ablative in expressions of time.

hoc *in tempore*, sec. 13, n. 7 (passim). "Time when" is regularly expressed in Classical Latin by the ablative alone. *In* is found but for the most part only when there is an additional idea of circumstance, condition, etc. But in the poets and especially in Post-classical and Late writers we note an increasing tendency to employ the prep. in simple designations of "time when."

b. *In* with the ablative to express means, instrument, or manner, is Post-class. and Late.

ut *in uirtute* escae anima refectior, sec. 47, n. 12.

in una positi . . . secum tractarent, sec. 46, n. 2. We should expect *una* or *in unum* according to Classical Latin.

SUB.

sub nomine senatus, sec. 26, n. 6. The ablative alone would be preferred in this expression in Classical Latin.

sub . . . cura degebam, sec. 42, n. 11. This use of *sub* to express condition or state is chiefly confined to Livy and later writers.

3. *The Pronoun.*

The chief divergence from Classical norms occurs in the employment of the demonstrative and intensive pronouns. Each of the differences has been discussed in the commentary in the order of its occurrence in the text; hence we intend here merely to present in summarized form the deviations noticed.

A. Reflexive Pronouns.

1. *inuicem se*, sec. 46, n. 7. *Inuicem se* for the Classical *inter se*, to express reciprocity, is a Post-classical development beginning with Tacitus.

B. Demonstrative Pronouns.

In the employment of demonstratives, Paulinus simply adopts the usage of the writers of his age. The deviations from the Classical usage are the following: *ipse* has taken the meaning of *is, ille, idem; hic* and *ille* are largely replaced by *iste,* while *ille* has weakened to *is* and even to a definite article. The following examples from the *Vita* illustrate the above divergences:

a. *ipse* for *is:*

Sec. 11, n. 6.
Sec. 11, n. 7.
Sec. 28, n. 11.
Sec. 46, n. 9.

ipse for *ille:*

Sec. 42, n. 7.

b. *iste* for *hic:*

Sec. 2, n. 2.
Sec. 3, n. 11.

iste also occurs for *hic* in the following combinations:
illi . . . isti, sec. 7, n. 8.
illi . . . isti, sec. 15, n. 7.

c. *iste* for *ille:*

Sec. 47, n. 15.

d. *ille* for *is:*

Sec. 19, n. 6.

It is interesting to note that Paulinus uses the formula *hoc est* consistently throughout the *Vita,* disregarding *id est* entirely. *Hoc est* appears in the following:

Sec. 9, n. 7.
Sec. 8, n. 5.
Sec. 30, n. 1.
Sec. 41, n. 16.
Sec. 52, n. 2.

4. *Adjectives.*

A. Adjectives used substantively.

The usage of the adjective as a substantive has been treated in connection with the syntax of the noun.

B. The Adjective for the Genitive of the Noun.

Paulinus shows a tendency common to many writers beginning with the poets and continuing down to Late Latin prose writers to use the adjective for the genitive of the noun. This usage can be found in all periods of the language, but in Late Latin it is far more extensive, being employed with greater boldness and frequency. The following adjectives replace the genitive:

sanguinem *dominicum*, sec. 7, n. 6.
dominicum . . . dictum, sec. 10, n. 8.
dictorum *dominicorum*, sec. 18, n. 5.
fideli uoce, sec. 7, n. 10.
Iudaeico ore, sec. 15, n. 6.

C. Comparison of Adjectives.

The comparative and superlative of adjectives first lost their value in the language of the people, and this weakening gradually crept into the literary language of Late Latin. There are two instances of comparatives which seem to be used for the superlative in the present treatise.

maioris, sec. 16.
refectior, sec. 47, n. 13.
Note in sec. 19, n. 5, *iuniorem* for *minorem*, which is Late Latin.

D. Pronominal Adjectives.

In Classical Latin we notice a marked difference between *alter* and *alius*. This distinction, however, is not observed in colloquial speech and Late Latin prose. In the *Vita* we find:

alio die for *altero die*, sec. 18, n. 3.
alia die for *altera die*, sec. 25, n. 2.

Toti for *omnes* is rare in Classical prose, but is frequent in Post-classical and Late Latin. Instances of this usage are found in:

Sec. 48, n. 12: erat enim exsequiarum turba innumerabilis *totius* dignitatis *totiusque* sexus. . . .

N. B. In sec. 20, n. 11: ignis insuperabilis omne illud aedificium communiret, *omne* seems to be used for *totum*.

E. Other Uses of the Adjective.

1. *In tantum, in quantum* for *tantum, quantum* are found in Post-class. Latin, but more frequently in Late Latin. I have noted the following examples of this usage:

Sec. 14, n. 6: sed sancti . . . frequentabantur, Protasii . . . Geruasii ut nomina . . . incognita erant, *in tantum* ut supra sepulcra ambularent omnes.

Sec. 14, n. 13: sed iis beneficiis martyrum in quantum crescebat fides Ecclesiae catholicae, *in tantum* Arianorum perfidia minuebatur.

Sec. 38, n. 5: in rebus etiam diuinis implendis fortissimus, *in tantum* ut quod solitus erat . . . implere.

Sec. 40, n. 3: Flebat . . . *in tantum* ut nos illum consolari niteremur. . . .

Sec. 43, n. 4: facere falsas epistolas tribunatus, *in tantum* ut tenerentur homines, qui ad ministrandum pergebant.

2. In sec. 9, n. 5, we have *cunctorum* for *omnium*.

3. *aliquantus*. The use of *aliquantus* in the plural (= *aliquot*) is confined to Late Latin. I have noted two instances:

aliquantis diebus, sec. 27, n. 4.
aliquantos dies, sec. 28, n. 5.

4. In sec. 46, n. 14 we find *trina uoce*. *Trini* in the singular is Post-classical.

5. *Particles.*

A. Adverbs.

a. Adverbs of time.

In sec. 47, n. 9, we find *modo* equivalent to *nunc* which is Ante-class., Post-class. and Late.

b. Adverbs of place.

Unde in Classical Latin is used to designate "place from which." Its use as a conclusive particle is confined to Late Latin. I have noted the following instances of this late use:

Sec. 2, n. 5: *unde* a die natiuitatis eius narrandi initium sumam. . . .

Sec. 11, n. 13: *unde* debes uereri Dei iudicium, ne tibi aliquid eueniat.

Sec. 15, n. 17: *unde* miseriores Ariani uel Iudaei, ut, quod confitentur daemones, illi negent.

Sec. 45, n. 5: *unde* conuocatis ad se . . . uiris, quos diligi a . . . sacerdote cognouerat. . . .

Sec. 55, n. 1: *unde* hortor et obsecro omnem hominem qui . . . librum legerit, ut imitetur uitam uiri.

c. Adverbs of degree.

magis for *potius*, common among late writers, is also frequent in Paulinus. It appears in:

Sec. 27, n. 6: ad Tusciam . . . descendit, declinans *magis* aspectum . . . uiri non formidans . . . iniuriam.

Sec. 39, n. 6: ut intercessores apud Deum *magis* sint quam accusatores apud homines.

Sec. 55, n. 2: si uult *magis* consortium habere cum Ambrosio in resurrectione uitae, quam cum detrahentibus.

d. Adverbs of negation.

1. *nec* = *non* or *et non*. We have noted eleven instances of this usage.

Sec. 10, n. 12: signum sanitatis ut mirabile fuit, ita etiam *nec* occultum.

Sec. 13, n. 5: sed *nec* hoc satis erat missis militibus . . . *nec* here probably = *ne . . . quidem*.

2. *non . . . vel* = *nec . . . nec* or *neque . . . neque;* sec. 11, n. 11: tamen te *non* conuenit *uel* professionem tuam.

B. Particles.

a. Copulative particles.

et = *etiam*, "also, too," is common only from Livy on. Examples of this usage are in:

Sec. 15, n. 13: iam hoc *et* in Euangelium legimus.

b. Disjunctive particles.

uel = *et* is uncommon in classical literature but frequent in Late Latin, especially in the African writers. It is quite common in the *Vita*, occurring in:

Sec. 3, n. 4: pater . . . cum matre *uel* filia deambulabat.

Sec. 15, n. 10: isti de martyribus *uel* de Domini sacerdote loquebantur.

Sec. 15, n. 18: Ariani *uel* Iudaei . . . negent.

Sec. 18, n. 9: exspectante sacerdote *uel* plebe in ecclesia constituta.

Sec. 40, n. 6: sed quia . . . praecesserat, *uel* quia difficile esset.

Sec. 41, n. 6: plerosque ceperit . . . sacerdotes *uel* leuitas.

Sec. 42, n. 6: nam scribendi *uel* dictandi . . . finem fecit.

Sec. 46, n. 16: Castus . . . *uel* Polemius . . . arboris boni fructus.

Sec. 51, n. 3: desperanti de salute sua *uel* exercitus.

c. Adversative Particles.

sed = *et* is not common in Classical Latin, but is peculiar only to Sallust. This usage is frequent in the present work.

Sec. 5, n. 1: *sed* postquam edoctus liberalibus disciplinis, ex urbe egressus est.

Sec. 22, n. 8: *sed* de . . . facto comes . . . relationem direxit.

Sec. 54, n. 8: *sed* et aliis episcopis et diaconibus.

d. Causal Particles.

Quippe in sec. 7, n. 3: tribunal . . . parari fecit, *quippe* mox futurus episcopus altiora conscendit, this use of *quippe* alone with the force of *enim*, is found in Sallust and then frequently in Late writers.

Ideo, as a conclusive particle, is found in Early, Post-class. and Late Latin.

Sec. 21, n. 5: timuisse se Ambrosium et *ideo* recessisse.

Ideoque, sec. 39, n. 11: *ideoque* Scriptura dicit. *Ideoque* as a conclusive particle cited for Lucretius, Nepos and Varro, but otherwise confined to later writers.

Unde — igitur, cf. Adverbs of place.

6. *The Verb.*

A. Voice.

There are comparatively few deviations from Classical norms. We need only note here an example of a passive used in a middle sense:

Sec. 3, n. 9: in tantam aeris altitudinem *sublevatae sunt*. In Class. Latin the middle or reflexive sense of this verb is expressed by the active with a reflexive pronoun in the accusative.

B. Absolute use of the verb.

a) Transitive verbs used absolutely:

imperare, sec. 26: qui ubi *imperare* coepit. This usage is cited in the lexica only for Early Latin (Plautus).

tractare, sec. 33: cum *tractaret* episcopus. Absolute use cited in the lexica only for Nepos and Suetonius.

C. Intransitive verbs employed transitively, i. e., with a direct object in the accusative.

abhorrere, sec. 24: ut publicam paenitentiam non *abhorreret*.

flere, sec. 34: nam sacerdotes . . . prostratus . . . factum diu *fleuit*.

D. Tenses.

a. The indicative. I have noted no striking irregularity in the employment of the indicative.

b. The subjunctive. Sec. 20, n. 4. The perfect subjunctive is employed where we would expect the pluperfect, since the main verb is imperfect and the other verb in the same passage follows secondary sequence.

Clamabat . . . ab angelo . . . tormenta sibi adhiberi eo, qui custodiret Ambrosium, . . . quoniam ad excitanda odia . . . cacumen tecti . . . conscendens . . . *sacrificauerit.*

c. The participle. Paulinus, like many other Late writers, employs *constitutus* and *positus,* in the sense of ὤν, i. e., as the equivalent of a present participle of *esse.* The following examples have been noted:

Sec. 22, n. 2: Ambrosio uero episcopo *constituto.*

Sec. 46, n. 3: in uno *positi* Castus, Polemius, Venerius et Felix, tunc diaconi, secum tractarent. . . .

Sec. 51, n. 13: in qua nunc *positi* scribimus . . . (passim.)

d. Compound tenses. The employment of *fui, fueram,* etc., in place of *sum, eram,* etc., in forming compound tenses should be noted. Paulinus is fond of these compound forms, as we find nineteen instances in the present work. For a fuller discussion of this syntactical phenomenon, cf. sec. 4, n. 1 in the Commentary.

7. *Moods.*

A. Indicative and subjunctive. No striking divergence from the Classical norm has been noted in the employment of the indicative except in so far as it has lost ground in some constructions before the subjunctive. This phenomenon will be discussed below under the syntax of "Subordinate Clauses."

B. Infinitive. The Infinitive loses some ground after the verbs *declarandi* and *sentiendi* where it is frequently replaced by *quod, quia,* and *quoniam* and the indicative or subjunctive, but on the whole its usage in Post-class. and Late Latin becomes greatly extended. The following instances of this extended use have been noted in the *Vita:*

a) After adjectives.

cum tanto uiro non sum dignus *habere* consortium, sec. 56. The use of an infinitive with *dignus* is confined to the poets and Post-class. and Late prose.

b) After verbs.

compellere. ita flebat, ut et illum *flere* compelleret, sec. 39, n. 4. Poetic and Post-class.

dignari. quam . . . Dominus Iesus . . . *conferre* dignatus est, sec. 15, n. 5. precor . . . *orare* digneris, sec. 56. Poetic, Post-class. and Late.

dinoscere. *quod* dinoscerent, sec. 13, n. 3 (permut.). Late and chiefly Eccl.

facere. tribunal . . . *parari* fecit, sec. 7, n. 2. *portari* fecit, sec. 10, n. 6. *triumphare* fecit, sec. 23, n. 4. *requiri* fecit . . . *perduci*, sec. 43, n. 7 (passim). The use of the infinitive with *facere* in the sense of "cause to," "make to," is chiefly confined to Late Latin.

timere. timens *perduci*, sec. 21, n. 2. Ante-class., rarely in Cicero, Post-class., and Late. timeo *mori*, sec. 45, n. 9.

valere. *perferri* non valerent, sec. 12, n. 5. Poetic, Post-class. and Late.

8. *Subordinate Clauses.*

A. Causal clauses.

Late Latin writers often employ the subjunctive where classical prose would have the indicative. This is especially true in the case of causal clauses found in the *Vita*.

a) *Siquidem* is employed invariably in Class. Latin with the indicative, but in Late writers it frequently governs the subjunctive. In the *Vita* Paulinus employs it twice, once with the subjunctive, sec. 1, n. 20, and once with the indicative, sec. 4, n. 7.

b) *Quandoquidem*. The regular mood with *quandoquidem* as a causal conjunction in Class. Latin is the indicative. In the two instances in which it occurs in the *Vita:* sec. 2, n. 3 and sec. 41, n. 5, it governs the subjunctive.

B. Indirect discourse.

The regular classical construction, the infinitive with the subject accusative after *verba sentiendi et declarandi*, is replaced, to a certain extent, in Paulinus, as in all Late writers, by the *quod*, *quia*, and *quoniam* construction with the indicative or the sub-

junctive. It is noteworthy, however, that our author leans more towards the Classical usage after these verbs, since we find thirty-seven examples of the infinitive with the subject accusative and only seven of the *quod* construction. The seven examples are:

Sec. 15, n. 8: dicebant *quoniam* . . . eicit.
Sec. 15, n. 11: loquebantur *quod* pellerentur . . . metirentur.
Sec. 18, n. 12: ignoraret *quod* factum esset.
Sec. 33, n. 5: cognouimus . . . *quod* . . . traditum sit.
Sec. 40, n. 7: praedixit *quod* . . . facturus esset.
Sec. 43, n. 3: ferebatur . . . *quod* haberet faceretque.
Sec. 45, n. 3: dixisse . . . *quod* . . . immineret.

Paulinus, like all Late writers, employs direct statements after *dico, respondeo,* etc. For examples, cf. sec. 15, n. 15; sec. 18, n. 15; sec. 23, n. 8; sec. 30, n. 5; sec. 30, n. 6; sec. 44, n. 3; sec. 45, n. 8; sec. 46, n. 10; sec. 52, n. 10.

9. *Participle, Gerund, Gerundive.*

A. Participle.

The use of the participle as an adjective and as a substantive has been discussed above. No other irregularities worthy of comment have been noticed in the use of the participle except in sec. 31, n. 17, where we have a future participle *precaturus* to express purpose. This usage appears first in C. Gracchus (apud Gell. 11, 10, 4), is found once in Cicero and Sallust, and a few times in the poets. From Livy on, it becomes more common.

B. Gerund and Gerundive.

Paulinus, like most Late writers, employs the gerund and gerundive in many uses which are quite rare or which do not occur in the Classical writers. Such rare and Late uses are listed below.

The Gerund.

a. Expressing means. This usage is Classical but is frequent only in Late Latin.

Sec. 28, n. 13: supra corpus composuit atque *orando* meruit, ut. . . .

Sec. 28, n. 15: ut quod . . . non poterat *legendo* cognosceret.

Sec. 12, n. 13: cui non minimum solatii sacerdos praebuit, *dando* sumptus.

Sec. 39, n. 10: ut *confitendo* suum alleuet ipsé delictum.

Sec. 40, n. 8: quod quidem meruit Dominum *obsecrando*.

b. Expressing manner or circumstance. The ablative of the gerund as the equivalent of a present participle is rare in Classical Latin, but from Livy on this usage becomes more frequent. Examples of this usage are:

Sec. 30, n. 2: *pugnando* non paruam multitudinem manu fudit.

Gerundive.

a) The gerundive alone, used to express purpose, is Late. Note the examples below:

Sec. 37, n. 3: cum ad . . . Macedonii . . . pro quodam *intercedendum* perrexisset.

Sec. 34, n. 7: sanctus episcopus cum clericis . . . aderant, *defendendum* circumdedit.

Sec. 48: cum corpus . . . de ecclesia leuaretur *portandam* ad basilicam Ambrosianam.

Sec. 18: qui *tractandam* episcopo quaestionem proponeret.

The predicate use of the gerundive in the two instances, sec. 48, and sec. 18, to express purpose or end is evidently an extension of the Classical usage with such verbs as *trado, suscipio, accipio,* etc.

b) With prepositions.

1. With *ob*. The use of *ob* to express purpose is already found in Early Latin but in Classical Latin it is confined to Cicero and Sallust, who use it but rarely (Cicero almost entirely in legal phrases). In later writers the usage is more common, but on the whole it never becomes a frequent construction.

Sec. 39, n. 3: siquidem . . . illi aliquis *ob percipiendam* paenitentiam lapsus suos confessus esset.

2. With *circa*. The gerundive with *circa* is Post-class. Sec. 38, n. 6: ut quod solitus erat *circa baptizandos* solus implere.

VIII. Style and Literary Significance.

To be fair in discussing the style of Paulinus it must be brought home to the reader that he was a man of only moderate education and limited ability. Therefore, we search in vain in him for the qualities found in the outstanding writers of the Patristic Period. He did not possess originality of thought nor beauty of language. At the very outset,[1] after acknowledging his inferiority to such great men as Athanasius and Jerome in character and literary ability, he prepares us, so to speak, for the panegyrical character of his discourse. For it is only natural that he should pour forth his admiration by relating to posterity the "gratia uiri" which belonged to St. Ambrose, as he writes, from his cradle. In his style, with the exception of the Preface, where we notice an attempt at literary finish, he appears to be a plain and untrained writer. The entire work seems stiff, lacking vivacity and copiousness, and even, in places, obscure and unattractive. The sentences are in many instances abrupt and loosely connected; besides being unrhetorical they show neither balance nor finish and are frequently marred by parenthetical statements. There is considerable philosophizing and moralizing, which frequently, by being poorly expressed, obscures the entire thought.

A discussion of our author's style should include at least a brief consideration of the rhetorical devices which were so characteristic of the great literary works of the Fourth and Fifth century. We do not, as we have said, meet with much rhetorical display in the *Vita*. In its fifty-six sections, the *Vita* furnishes examples of about twenty-seven figures and many of these, as it would seem, are used entirely without design and deliberation. The greatest number fall under the Figures of Sound, i. e. paranomasia, polyptoton, alliteration, assonance, and parachesis, furnishing us with more than two hundred examples, about eighty of which are assonance. The latter figure seems to be a favorite device with Paulinus. He also shows a fondness for polyptoton of which we find over fifty-five examples,

[1] *Vita S. Ambrosii* I, 1.

next in rank comes paranomasia, about fifty, but to our surprise, alliteration drops to about thirteen and parachesis to seven.

For examples of alliteration, cf. secs. 1, 23, 7, 33, 43, 45, etc. We find parachesis in sec. 30: *gentes legentes;* sec. 49: *directa . . . lecta;* sec. 32: *capillis capitis,* et passim.

The devices which would add vivacity and lend dramatic effect to style are very scanty. Of these parenthesis is the outstanding figure, occurring seven times; then we have six examples of asyndeton, and two each of polysyndeton, litotes, interrogatio, and exclamatio.

Anadiplosis, chiasmus, and epanaphora, special rhetorical devices for indicating emphasis, are but few. The same might be said of the figures of amplification, since we find but five examples of pleonasm and three of arsis and thesis. Some instances of anadiplosis are: sec. 7: *magis magisque: sine pera, sine uirga,* etc.; and of chiasmus, sec. 16: *donatam . . . reseruabat crescebatque . . . hominibus;* sec. 40: *ignorantes* pium affectum uiri nec qua ratione ita fieret *intellegentes.*

The metaphor, so frequent in the writers of the period, is by no means frequent in the *Vita.* Of all the metaphors noted we would say that only eight are worth considering. Of the metaphors the most striking are sec. 1: *qui muri ecclesiarum sunt et eloquentiae fontes;* sec. 41: *deruptis uinculis atque proiecto iugo huiusmodi dominationis;* for others, cf. sec. 8, 21, 31, 39, 41.

Of the devices of parallelism few instances have been noted. This fact confirms our statement above that Paulinus' sentences are unrhetorical, lack balance and finish.

Five examples of hyperbaton and two of antonomasia appear in the work, but the examples noted are not striking.

A noteworthy passage, rich in figurative devices, is sec. 23: *Ego . . . mysteria,* in which we find striking examples of arsis and thesis, parison, homoioteleuton, isocolon, epanaphora, interrogatio, antithesis, and hypophora.

The *Vita,* in its arrangement, although not strictly chronological, closely resembles the literary form of the Alexandrian biography, which is best seen in the *Lives* of Suetonius.[2] This form of bio-

[2] Leo, F., Die Griechische-Römische Biographie, 11-16.

graphy aims primarily to portray the character and personal traits of the hero. In all probability, Paulinus' knowledge of this literary form did not come directly from Classical sources but indirectly through the *Lives* of the biographers whom he mentions in the Preface of this *Vita*. This we are inclined to believe because of quite apparent dependence of Paulinus upon his models, especially the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus. The latter he follows in structure almost absolutely, as is evident from the following:

Vita S. Ambrosii.	*Vita S. Martini.*
Preface, sec. 1-2.	Preface—(Autoris ad Desiderium epistola de libro Vitae B. Martini) and sec. 1 of Liber 1.
Birth, Youth, Early public Career of St. Ambrose, sec. 3-5.	Birth, Youth, Early public Career of St. Martin, sec. 2-4.
Life proper, Deeds, Virtues, and Miracles of St. Ambrose, sec. 6-52.	Life proper, Deeds, Virtues, and Miracles of St. Martin, sec. 5-26.
Conclusion and Epilogue in the Life of St. Ambrose, sec. 53-56.	Conclusion and Epilogue in the Life of St. Martin, sec. 27.

What interest and value does the *Vita* have for the literary world? The *Vita S. Ambrosii* has the distinction of being one of our chief sources for Ambrose's life, especially his spiritual life, and reveals many personal traits that we cannot learn from his writings. In the *Vita*[3] we see Ambrose chastising his flesh by labors, by vigils, by fasts, by praying day and night. The beauty of his sympathetic soul is also poured out in the picture of St. Ambrose weeping with the afflicted and especially with the sinners, causing them to weep with him. All this would have been lost had not Paulinus presented it to the reader for imitation[4] and approval of the grace of God which was revealed by his holy and virtuous life.

[3] Vita, 38-42.
[4] Vita, 55.

VITA SANCTI AMBROSII
Mediolanensis Episcopi,
A PAULINO EIUS NOTARIO
Ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta.[1]

CAPUT I.

Auctoris praefatio.

1. Hortaris, uenerabilis[2] pater Augustine, ut sicut beati uiri Athanasius episcopus et Hieronymus presbyter stilo prosecuti[3] sunt uitas sanctorum Pauli et Antonii in eremo[4] positorum,[5] sicut etiam Martini uenerabilis episcopi Turonensis ecclesiae Seuerus[6] scrips[7] Dei sermone contexuit, sic etiam ego beati Ambrosii, episcopi Mediolanensis ecclesiae, meo prosequar[8] stilo. sed ego ut meritis[9] tantorum uirorum, qui muri ecclesiarum sunt et eloquentiae fontes, ita etiam sermone me imparem[10] noui. tamen, quia[11] absurdum esse opinor, quod praecipis declinare, ea quae a probatissimis uiris, qui illi ante me adstiterunt, et maxime ab sorore ipsius uenerabili Marcellina[12] didici, uel ipse uidi, cum illi adstarem, uel quae ab iis agnoui, qui illum in diuersis prouinciis post obitum ipsius se uidisse narrarunt, uel quae ad illum scripta sunt cum adhuc obiisse nesciretur, adiutus[13] orationibus[14] tuis et meritis tanti uiri, licet inculto[15] sermone, breuiter[16] strictimque describam, ut lectoris animum etsi sermo offendit, tamen breuitas ad legendum prouocet. nec uerborum fucis ueritatem obducam, ne dum scriptor elegantiae[17] pompam requirit, lector tantarum

4. Incipit prologus Sancti Paulini episcopi in uitam Sancti Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi A. Incipit uita Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi. Quod est pridie Nonas Aprilis B. Incipit uita Sancti Ambrosii Epscopi C. Incipit uita Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensi D. 9. uitam C D. 11. Seuerus . . . Dei *om.* D. 11. uitam sermone contexuit ita etiam beati Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi uitam D *in marg.* Dei] luculento *add. editi.* sic *om.* A B, ita D. beatissimi *editi.* 14. ita *om.* D. 15. esse . . (l. 16) probatissimis A *in marg.* 16. ante me illi D. 17. ipsius] et *add.* A. Marcellino A. cum illi adstarem] *om.* D. 18. ab iis] *om.* A C. cognoui editi. in] *om.* A. 19. narrauerunt A C. 21. breuiter] *om.* A. districtimque A. 22. offenderit *editi.* breuitas tamen *editi.* breuitas] *om.* A. 23. nec] ne B. 24. tantorum D.

THE LIFE OF SAINT AMBROSE BISHOP OF MILAN

WRITTEN BY HIS SECRETARY PAULINUS TO BLESSED AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER I.

The Author's Preface.

1. You urge, reverend father Augustine, that just as those blessed men, the Bishop Athanasius and the priest Jerome described with their pens the lives of Saints Paul and Anthony who lived in the desert, just as also Severus, a servant of God, composed in an elegant language the life of the reverend Martin, Bishop of the Church of Tours, so too, I describe with my pen the life of the blessed Ambrose, Bishop of the Church of Milan. But just as I realize that I am inferior to such men in worth, who are the bulwarks of the churches and fountains of eloquence, so also do I realize that I am unequal to them in power of expression. However, since I think it to be without reason to refuse what you bid, whatever I have learned from those most trustworthy men who served him before me and especially from his own sister, the revered Marcellina, or whatever I myself have seen, when I was in his service, or what I have learned from those, who related that they had seen him after his death in different provinces, or what was written to him when it was still unknown that he had died, all this, assisted by your prayers and by the worth of so great a man, I shall describe—although in unadorned language—briefly and summarily, so that even if the language offend the mind of the reader, yet its brevity may encourage him to read it; and I shall not obscure the truth with florid words, lest while the writer seek the pomp of elegant diction, the reader, whom it does not befit

uirtutum amittat scientiam, quem non magis phaleras [18] pompasque uerborum quam uirtutem rerum gratiamque [19] Spiritus Sancti spectare conueniat; siquidem [20] nouerimus, uiatores gratiorem habere aquam breui uena stillantem,[21] forte cum sitiunt, quam profluentis fontis riuos, quorum copiam sitis tempore reperire non possunt. et hordeaceus [22] panis dulcis solet esse etiam his, qui [23] centenis uasibus ferentorum [24] cotidiani conuiuii copias ructare consuerunt. sol et hortorum amoena mirantibus herbae agrestes placere consueuerunt.

2. Quamobrem [1] obsecro uos omnes, in quorum manibus liber iste [2] uersabitur, ut credatis uera esse quae dicimus. nec putet me quisquam studio amoris aliquid quod fide careat posuisse; quandoquidem [3] melius sit penitus nihil dicere, quam aliquid falsi proferre, cum sciamus *uos* [4] *omnium sermonum nostrorum reddituros esse rationem*. nec dubitem, etsi non ab omnibus omnia, tamen a diuersis diuersa sciri et ea cognita nonnullis esse, quae etiam minus ipse aut audire aut uidere potui. unde [5] a die natiuitatis [6] eius narrandi initium sumam, ut gratia [7] uiri ab incunabulis quae fuerit agnoscatur. Matth. 12, 36

CAPUT II.

S. Ambrosii ortus, adolescentia, prima munera.

3. Igitur posito in administratione [1] praefecturae Galliarum patre [2] eius Ambrosio natus est Ambrosius. qui infans in area praetorii in cunabalis positus cum dormiret aperto ore, subito examen apum aduenientes faciem eius atque os compleuit ita ut ingrediendi egrediendique frequentarent uices. quae pater, qui

1. phaleras . . . uerborum] uerborum phaleras pompasque sermonum A B C. 2. uerborum] sermonum D. uirtutum D. rerum] uirum D. gratia C. 3. expectare B C. conueniet B. nouimus A B. 4. aquam] aliquem A, aqua C. breue C. uena C *in ras.* stillare B. fontem A C. fonte B. 5. profluentes A B D. fontis *om.* A B D *in ras.* 6. dulcior A. esse *om.* A, adesse D. 7. ructuare D. consueuerunt A. 8. sed . . . (l. 9) consueuerunt *om.* B D. agrestes A. 11. esse] *om.* B. scripsimus *editi*, dicimus *corr.* D. ne A. nec me quisquam putet D. 13. sit *corr.* esset D. falsi *in marg.* A. 16. sciri C. nonnulli D. 17. ipse minus D. aut uidere] *om.* C. potuit D. a die] D *in ras.* 18. gratiam C. ab] ipsis *add.* A, cunabulis A. incunabilis C. 19. agnoscatur] Explicit prologus incipit uita Sancti Ambrosii episcopi *add.* A. 22. proposito D. 23. Ambrosius est D *editi.* in *om.* C. 24. cuna *editi.* cum dormiret in cunabulis positus aperto ore B. ora D *editi.* 26. ingrediendi] in os *add.* D *editi.* uices frequentarent *editi*, frequentare uices D. quae] quas A. qui] *om* D.

to look for the trappings and pomp of expression more than the virtue of deeds and the grace of the Holy Spirit, miss the knowledge of so great virtues; for we may know that travelers regard as more pleasing the water that trickles in a feeble rill, when perchance they are thirsty, than the streams of a gushing fountain, whose plenty they cannot find at the time of their thirst. And barley bread is wont to be sweet even to those who are accustomed to belch up the abundance of their daily banquet with its countless courses of dishes. And wild plants are accustomed to please even those who admire charming gardens.

2. On this account, I beseech you all, in whose hands this book will fall, to believe that what we say is true. And let no one think that I have put down anything which lacks truth, through the bias of love; since indeed it is better to say nothing at all than to set forth something false, when we know that *we shall render an account of all our words.* And I should not doubt, although all things are not known by all, that yet various things are known by various people; and that those facts are known to some, which even I myself was not able to hear or see. Therefore, I shall take up the beginning of the narrative from the day of his birth, so that the divine grace which belonged to the man from his cradle, may be well known.

CHAPTER II.

Birth, Youth, and Early Public Career of Saint Ambrose.

3. Ambrose, then, was born while his father Ambrose was engaged in the administration of the Praefectureship of the Gallic provinces. And when he, as an infant, placed in a cradle within the court-yard of the governor's residence was sleeping with open mouth, suddenly a swarm of bees came and covered his face and lips in such a way that they kept entering and coming forth from his mouth alternately. The father, who was walking near by with

propter eum matre [a] uel [b] filia [c] deambulabat," ne abigerentur ab ancilla, quae curam gerendi [d] infantis susceperat, prohibens,—sollicita etiam erat ne infanti nocerent.—expectabat patrio affectu quo fine illud miraculum [e] clauderetur. at illae post aliquamdiu euolantes in tantam aeris altitudinem sublimatae [g] sunt, ut humanis oculis minime viderentur. quo facto territus pater ait: " Si uixerit infantulus [h] iste,[i] aliquid magni erit." operabatur [k] enim iam [l] tunc Dominus in seruuli [m] sui infantia [n], ut impleretur quod scriptum [o] est: *Fodi* [p] *mellis sermones boni.* illud enim examen Prov. 16, 24 aptum scriptorum ipsius nobis generabat fauos, qui caelestia dona annuntiarent et mentes hominum de terrenis [q] ad caelum erigerent.

4. Postea uero, cum adoleuisset et esset in urbe Roma constitutus cum matre uidua et sorore,—quae uirginitatem iam fuerat [r] professa comite alia uirgine, cuius uirginis soror Candida [s] et ipsa est eiusdem professionis,' quae nunc Carthagine degit [t] iam anus,—cum uideret sacerdotibus [u] a domestica,[v] sorore, uel matre manus osculari, ipse ludens offerebat dexteram dicens et sibi id ab ea fieri oportere, siquidem [w] episcopum se futurum esse memorabat. loquebatur enim in illo Spiritus Sanctus qui illum ad sacerdotium [x] nutriebat: illa uero ut adolescentem et nescientem quid diceret respuebat.

5. Sed [y] postquam edoctus liberalibus [z] disciplinis ex urbe egressus est professusque in auditorio [a] praefecturae praetorii, ita splendide causas perorabat ut eligeretur a uiro illustri [b] Probo,[c] tunc praefecto praetorii, ad consilium tribuendum. post quod consularitatis [d] suscepit insignia ut regeret Liguriam [e] Aemiliamque prouincias, uenitque Mediolanum.

1. cum] *om.* D. deambulabant C. 2. susciperat C. 3. noceret C D. expectabat] tamen *add.* B C D. 4. postquam C. 5. in tantam] *om.* B, in tantum D. 9. dictum *editi.* fauus A B C D. 10. generabant D. 14. uirginitate C. erat A. fuerat iam D. 16. est] *om.* D *editi.* degit C. anus] senex D. 17. uidere D. sacerdotum A. sororis B C D. matris B C D. 18. ea] eis B C. 19. memorabit A, memoraret C D. 20. Spiritus] Domini *add.* D *editi.* ad sacerdotium illum A. 23. edoctus] est *add.* A C. egressus] que *add.* A. 24. est] *om.* D. professusque] que *om.* A, profectusque C. 25. perorauit D *editi.* 26. quam B D, haec *editi.* consaritatis D. 28. Mediolanium D. *corr.* Mediolanum.

his wife and daughter, fearing lest the bees might be driven away by the servant who had undertaken the task of feeding the baby, kept her back,—for she was alarmed lest they injure the child—and with fatherly affection waited to see with what end this miracle would terminate. And sometime later flying out they rose to such a height into the air that they could not be seen at all by human eyes. Terrified by this event the father said: "If this little child shall live he shall be something great." For already at that time the Lord in the infancy of His servant was working for the fulfilment of what has been written: *Good words are as a honeycomb.* For that swarm of bees was generating for us the honeycombs of his writings which were to announce the gifts of heaven and raise the minds of men from earthly things to heaven.

4. Afterwards, in fact, when he had grown and had settled in the city of Rome with his widowed mother and sister—who had already professed virginity together with another girl, whose sister Candida herself also is of the same profession and is now an old woman in Carthage—when he saw the hands of bishops kissed by a member of the household, his sister, or mother, himself playfully was wont to offer his right hand saying that this should also be done to him by her because he said that he would be a bishop. For the Holy Spirit spoke in him Who was nurturing him for the episcopacy; but she repelled him on the ground that he was a youth and knew not what he said.

5. And when after being instructed in the liberal disciplines he had departed from the city and had taken up his profession in the court of the Praetorian Prefect, he pleaded his cases so brilliantly that he was chosen by the Right Honorable Probus, then Praetorian Prefect, to act as his advisor. After this he received the dignity of the consulship so that he should rule over the provinces of Liguria and Aemilia, and he came to Milan.

CAPUT III.

In episcopum Mediolanensem non citra Dei nutum eligitur. subterfugere conatur sed frustra. eius electio miraculis confirmatur.

6. Per[1] idem tempus mortuo Auxentio[2] Arianae perfidiae[3] episcopo qui, Dionysio[4] beatae[5] memoriae confessore[6] ad exsilium destinato,[7] incubabat[8] ecclesiam, cum populus ad[9] seditionem surgeret in[10] petendo episcopo essetque illi cura sedandae seditionis, ne populus cunctatus in periculum sui verteretur, perrexit ad ecclesiam; ibique cum alloqueretur[11] plebem,[12] subito uox fertur infantis in populo sonuisse: "Ambrosium episcopum." ad cuius uocis sonum totius[13] populi ora conuersa sunt adclamantis: "Ambrosium episcopum." ita qui antea turbulentissime[14] dissidebant, qua et Ariani sui et Catholici sibi episcopum cupiebant superatis alterutris ordinari,[15] repente in hunc unum mirabili et incredibili concordia consenserunt.

7. Quo ille cognito egressus[1] ecclesiam tribunal sibi parari fecit,[2]—quippe[3] mox futurus[4] episcopus altiora[5] conscendit,—tunc contra consuetudinem suam tormenta personis iussit adhiberi. quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus adclamabat: "Peccatum tuum super nos." sed non similiter is populus tunc clamauit sicut populus Iudaeorum; illi enim uocibus suis sanguinem dominicum[6] effuderunt dicentes: *Sanguis*[7] *huius super nos;* isti[8] uero catechumenum[9] scientes, fideii[10] uoce remissionem[11] illi peccatorum omnium per baptismatis[12] gratiam promittebant. tunc ille turbatus reuertens domum philosophiam[13] profiteri uoluit, futurus sed uerus philosophus Christi, qui contemptis saecularibus[14] pompis piscatorum[15] secuturus esset uestigia, qui Christo populos[16] congregarunt non fucis[17] uerborum sed simplici sermone et uerae fidei ratione; missi[18] sine pera sine uirga etiam ipsos philosophos

Matth. 27, 25

5. confessorem *corr.* confessore D. ad exilio C. 6. ecclesiae A B. 7. episcopum A. sedandae C. *in ras.* 9. alloquitur D. 10. ad . . . (l. 12) episcopum] *om.* B C. 11. sonitum A D. adclamantes A D. itaque B C. ante A. 13. quia] quae B. 14. unum] *om.* A B. 16. quod D. ecclesia C. 17. episcopus] ad *add.* D. 18. contra] *om.* D. iussit personis C *editi.* adhibere C D *in ras.* 19. nihil hominus B. 20. is] hic A B, his C, res *corr.* iste *in marg.* D. clamabat A. 22. huius] eius A D. catechuminum A B C. 23. remissione C. 24. pro baptismatis gratia C. 25. philosophum A. uoluit] se *add.* A. futurum A. 26. sed] et A B. uere A. contemptis] Christi *add.* D. 28. uera D. 29. missi] *om.* C.

CHAPTER III.

He is elected bishop of Milan, not without the will of God. He tries to evade but in vain. His election is confirmed by miracles.

6. At the same time, Auxentius being dead, a bishop of the Arian heresy, who, after Dionysius the confessor of blessed memory had been sent into exile, held possession of the Church, Ambrose, since the people in seeking a bishop were rising to revolt and it was his care to quell sedition lest the people of the city should be turned to do harm to themselves, proceeded to the church; and there while he was addressing the populace, the voice of a child is said to have suddenly cried out among the people: "Ambrose Bishop." At the sound of this voice the mouths of all the people were changed, all crying: "Ambrose Bishop." Thus those who disagreed most violently before, because both the Arians and the Catholics wished the other party to be defeated and a bishop of their own to be appointed, suddenly insisted on this one man with miraculous and incredible harmony.

7. When he noticed this, leaving the church, he had a tribunal prepared for himself,—naturally about to become a bishop he mounted higher things; then contrary to his custom he ordered tortures to be applied to certain persons. Although he was doing this, the people nevertheless kept shouting: "Your sin be upon us." But those people then shouted not in a manner like that of the Jews; for the latter by their words shed the blood of the Lord, saying: "*His blood be upon us*"; but the former knowing that he was a catechumen, with the voice of faith assured him the forgiveness of all sins through the grace of baptism. Then returning home disturbed he wished to declare himself a philosopher; but he was to be a true philosopher of Christ, because despising worldly pomp he was about to follow the footsteps of the Fishermen, who united the people to Christ not by the ornaments of expression but by artless speech and by the doctrine of the true faith; being sent without wallet, without staff, they converted even the philoso-

converterunt.[19] quod ubi ne faceret reuocatus est, publicas mulieres publice [20] ad se ingredi [21] fecit ad [22] hoc tantum, ut uisis his populi intentio reuocaretur. at uero populus magis magisque clamabat: "Peccatum tuum super nos."

8. At ille cum uideret nihil intentionem suam proficere posse, fugam parauit egressus [1] noctis medio ciuitatem. cum Ticinum [2] se pergere putaret, mane ad portam [3] ciuitatis Mediolanensis, quae Romana dicitur, uenitur: Deus enim, qui Ecclesiae suae Catholicae murum parabat aduersus inimicos suos et turrem [4] erigebat Dauid contra faciem Damasci, hoc [5] est, perfidiam haereticorum, fugam illius impediuit. qui inuentus cum custodiretur a populo, missa relatio [6] est ad clementissimum imperatorem tunc Valentinianum, qui summo gaudio accepit quod iudices a se directi ad sacerdotium peterentur. laetabatur [7] etiam Probus praefectus quod uerbum eius impleretur in Ambrosio; dixerat enim proficiscenti, cum mandata ab eodem darentur, — ut moris est: "Vade, age non ut iudex, sed ut episcopus."

9. Pendente itaque relatione iterum fugam parauit atque in possessione cuiusdam Leontii [1] clarissimi [2] uiri aliquamdiu delituit. Sed ubi relationi responsum est, ab eodem Leontio proditur; praeceptum enim erat uicario ut insisteret rebus perficiendis, qui iniuncta sibi cum uellet implere, proposito edicto conuenit omnes, ut si uellent sibi consulere rebusque suis proderent uirum. proditus itaque et adductus Mediolanum, cum intellegeret circa [3] se Dei uoluntatem, nec se diutius posse resistere, postulauit non se nisi a Catholico episcopo debere baptizari; sollicite [4] enim cauebat perfidiam Arianorum. baptizatus itaque fertur omnia ecclesiastica officia implesse atque octauo die episcopus ordinatus est cum summa gratia et laetitia cunctorum.[5] igitur post annos aliquot ordina-

1. est] C *in ras.* 2. facit A. populus A B. 3. ab intentione A B, intentione D. uocaretur D. 4. peccatum . . . nos] *om.* C. 5. suam intentionem D. posse proficere D *editi.* 6. egressusque *editi.* medio noctis D. 9. turrim B. erigebat] *om.* B. 10. est] contra *add.* A *editi.* 13. index *editi.* duces D. a se] ad se B D. directus *editi.* 14. peteretur *editi.* quia A B, qui *corr.* quod C. 16. quod *corr.* cum D. ab eo D. age] inquit *add.* A. 19. possessionem C. Leontis B D. clarissimi] *om.* B. uiri] *om.* A B. delituit] latuit B. 20. relatione A *editi.* 21. erat enim C. 22. uellint D. 23. proditus] productus B C. 24. scirca B. 26. debere] *om.* D *editi.* sollicitam B D C, *corr.* sollicite A. habebat B C D, *corr.* cauebat A. 28. octaua C *editi.* summa cum *editi,* cum] *om.* D.

phers themselves. When he was prevented from doing this, he had common women come publicly to him for this purpose only—that when they were seen, the purpose of the people might be changed. But the people kept shouting more and more: "Your sin be upon us."

8. But when he saw that he could not carry out his resolution he prepared himself for flight, leaving the city at midnight. Since he intended to proceed to Ticinum, in the morning he was found at the gate of the city of Milan which is called Roman; for God, Who was preparing a bulwark for His Catholic Church against its enemies and erecting a tower of David against the face of Damascus, that is, the faithlessness of the heretics, prevented his flight. After he was found and while he was being guarded by the people a relation was sent to the most kind emperor then Valentinian, who heard with the greatest joy that the judges sent out by him were sought for the episcopacy. Probus the Prefect also rejoiced because his word was being fulfilled in Ambrose; for he had said to him when he was giving him his commission on setting out—as is the custom—"Go, act not as judge but as bishop."

9. And so while the relation was pending he again prepared for flight and hid himself for some time on the estate of a certain Honorable Leontius. But when the answer was made to the relation he was betrayed by the same Leontius; for the lieutenant of the Praetorian Prefect had received orders that he should insist on carrying out the matter, and since he wished to fulfill what had been enjoined upon him, having published an edict he warned all, saying that if they wished to look to themselves and their welfare, they should give up the man. And so when being handed over and brought to Milan he recognized the will of God toward him, and that he could not resist longer, he demanded that he should not be baptized save by a Catholic bishop; for he carefully guarded against the heresy of the Arians. And so on being baptized he is said to have fulfilled all the ecclesiastical offices and on the eighth day was consecrated bishop with the greatest favor and joy of all. Now a few years after his ordination he proceeded to the city of

tionis[6] suae ad urbem Romam, hoc[7] est, ad proprium[8] solum perrexit ibique sanctam puellam, de qua supra memorauimus, cui manum offerre solitus[9] erat, in domo propria cum germana,[10]—sicut reliquerat, inuenit, iam matre defuncta.[11] atque cum illa dexteram illius oscularetur, subridens ait illi: "Ecce, ut dicebam tibi, sacerdotis manum oscularis."

10. Per idem tempus cum trans Tiberim apud quandam clarissimam inuitatus ut sacrificium[1] in domo offerret,[2] quaedam balneatrix,[3] quae paralytica[4] in lecto iacebat, cum cognouisset ibidem esse Dominum sacerdotem, in sellula[5] se ad eandem domum ad quam ille inuitatus aduenerat portari[6] fecit atque orantis et imponentis manus uestimenta attigit, quae cum exoscularetur,[7] statim sanitate recepta ambulare coepit ut impleretur illud dominicum[8] dictum[9] ad Apostolos: *Etiam*[10] *maiora his facietis, credentes in nomine meo*, quod tamen *signum*[11] *sanitatis* ut mirabile fuit ita etiam hoc[12] occultum; nam ego hoc in eadem regione post annos pluranos sanctis uiris referentibus positus[13] in urbe cognoui. John. 14. 12. Acts, 4, 22.

11. Sirmium[1] uero cum ad ordinandum episcopum[2] Anemium perrexisset ibique Iustinae[3] tunc temporis reginae potentia et multitudine coadunata[4] de[5] ecclesia pelleretur, ut non ab[6] ipso sed ab haeretico Arianus episcopus in eadem ecclesia ordinaretur; essetque constitutus in tribunali, nihil curans eorum quae a muliere excitabantur, una de uirginibus Arianorum impudentior ceteris, tribunal conscendens apprehenso uestimento sacerdotis cum illum attrahere uellet ad partem mulierum, ut ab ipsis[7] caesus de[8] ecclesia pelleretur, audiuit,[9] ut ipse solitus[10] erat referre: "Etsi ego indignus tanto sacerdotio sum, tamen te non[11] conuenit uel professionem tuam in[12] qualemcunque sacerdotem manus inicere;

2. memorabimus *corr.* memorauimus D. 3. solitus erat offerre D. 4. illa] *om.* D. 6. manus D. 7. quandam] matronam *add.* A, quendam D. 8. inuitatus] esset *add.* B C. ut] *om.* D *editi.* in domum D. 9. quae] atque B C. 10. sella B. in quem A. 11. ille] *om.* A. uenerat *editi*, adueniret D. oranti A B D. *corr.* orantis C. et *om.* C. imponenti A B D. *om.* C. 12. tetigit C. oscularetur B C. 13. illud] *om.* D. dominicum] quod *add.* A B C. 14. dictum] est *add.* A B C. 16. nec occultum; nam hoc in eadem regione] *om.* B C. religionem B C. 17. in urbe] A *in marg.* 18. episcopum] in eadem *add.* D. 19. illicque *corr.* ibique D. 20. quo adunata *corr.* coadunata C. 21. Arianis B C D. episcopis C. 22. essetque] que *om.* A. in] *om.* D. 25. attrahere illum B. illud C. ut] quasi scelus *add.* B. ab ipsis caesus] *om.* B. ipsis] hiis A. de] *om.* D. 26. audiuit] ait ei *editi.* 27. sum] *om.* A. 28. tui C.

Rome, that is, to his estate and there found in his home with his sister—just as when he had left—the holy virgin of whom we have spoken above and to whom he was accustomed to hold out his hand, his mother having since died. And when she kissed his hand he said to her, smiling: "Behold, as I used to tell you, you are kissing the hand of a bishop."

10. At the same time when he was invited to the home of a very noble lady across the Tiber to offer the Holy Sacrifice in her house, a certain woman, caretaker of baths, who lay in bed paralyzed, having heard that a bishop of the Lord was there, had herself carried in a litter to the same house to which he had come on invitation and touched his garments as he prayed and placed his hands upon her. When she kissed them eagerly, her health was restored immediately and she began to walk, so that the words of our Lord which were said to His Apostles were fulfilled: *"You shall do even greater things, believing in my name."* Yet just as this *miraculous cure* was wonderful, so also was it not kept secret; for in this same district many years after, while living in the city, I learned this on the authority of holy men.

11. But when he had come to Sirmium to consecrate Anemius bishop and there by the power of Justina, the empress at that time, and by a multitude which had been gathered together, was being driven from the church, that there might be no consecration by him but that an Arian bishop might be consecrated by the heretics in that very church; and when he had taken his place on the tribunal, caring nothing for the turmoil which was being stirred up by a woman, one of the Arian girls, more imprudent than the rest, after ascending the tribunal, and seizing the garment of the bishop, since she wished to drag him to a group of women, so that he might be beaten by them and driven from the church, heard these words—as he himself was wont to relate—"Even if I am unworthy of so great an episcopal office, yet it does not become you or your profession to lay hands on any bishop what-

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unde [13] debes uereri Dei iudicium ne tibi aliquid eueniat." quod dictum exitus confirmauit; nam alio die mortuam ad sepulcrum usque deduxit gratiam pro contumelia rependens. sed hoc factum non leuem aduersarus incussit metum pacemque magnam Ecclesiae Catholicae in [14] ordinando episcopo tribuit.

CAPUT IV.

Justina augusta s. episcopum uexat.

12. Ordinato itaque Catholico sacerdote, Mediolanium reuertitur ibique supradictae Iustinae mulieris innumeras [1] insidias sustinuit, quae muneribus atque honoribus aduersus sanctum uirum oblatis populum excitabat. sed [2] infirmi talibus promissis decipiebantur, promittebat enim tribunatus et diuersas alias dignitates iis qui illum de [3] ecclesia raptum ad exsilium perduxissent. quod cum multi conarentur, sed Deo praesule [4] perficere [5] non ualerent, unus infelicior ceteris, nomine Euthymius,[6] in tantum furorem excitatus est ut iuxta ecclesiam sibi domum pararet atque in eadem carrum constitueret, quo facilius raptum, superpositum [7] carpento,[8] ad exsilium perduceret. *sed* [9] *iniquitas eius in uerticem ipsius descendit;* Psal. 7, 17 post annum etenim eodem die, quo illum rapere se arbitrabatur, in eodem carpento impositus de [10] eadem domo ipse ad exsilium destinatus [11] est, reputans sibi iusto iudicio Dei id in se esse conuersum ut in eodem carpento dirigeretur [12] ad exsilium quod ipse parauerat sacerdoti. cui non minimum solatii sacerdos praebuit, dando [13] sumptus uel alia quae erant necessaria.

13. Sed haec confessio hominis nec mulieris [1] furorem nec uesanorum Arianorum dementiam repressit; maiore enim accensi

1. debuit B, deberes *editi.* Dei iudicium uereri B, uenire D. ne] ut D. tibi] *om.* B. aliquid] illi *add.* B, illi *corr.* tibi D. aliquid] mali *add. editi.* eueniret B *editi, corr.* eueniat D. 2. usque ad sepulcrum B. 3. contumeliam D. rependens] et *add. editi.* hoc] A *in marg.* 4. incursit C. magnamque pacem A. 5. in ordinandum episcopum catholicae ecclesiae D. 8. Mediolanium D. redit D. 9. Iustinae supradictae B D. 11. excitabant *corr.* excitabat D. infirmorum C D *editi.* infirmi] animi *add.* D *editi.* 12. iis] hiis A B C D. 13. exsilia D. 14. ualerunt C. ualerent *corr.* ualerunt D. 15. Euthymius nomine D. tanto furore A B C D. 17. constituerat A. superpositum] *om.* B. 18. perducet A, perduxisset B, deduxisset C, deduceret D. uertice C. ipsius] A *in marg.* eius *corr.* ipsius D. 19. etenim] *om.* B C, enim D. arbitrabat C. 20. exsilium] eius *add.* B. 22. eo *editi.* 23. solatium B D. 26. uesanorum] *om.* A, uoces sonorum C, *corr.* uoces sonorum D. dementia C. maiora C. etenim D *editi.* accensi] amentia *add. editi.*

soever; wherefore, you should fear the judgment of God lest something may happen to you." The event confirmed his words; on the following day he conducted her dead to the grave repaying kindness for insult. And this event threw no little fear in his opponents and brought great peace to the Catholic Church at the consecration of the bishop.

CHAPTER IV.

The Empress Justina persecutes the Holy Bishop.

12. And so after a Catholic bishop was consecrated he returned to Milan and there withstood countless insidious attacks of the above mentioned woman Justina, who, by bestowing offices and honors, aroused the people against the holy man. And the weak were deceived by such promises, for she promised tribuneships and various other offices of authority to those who would drag him from the church and lead him into exile. While many tried this but through the protection of God were not strong enough to accomplish it, one more wretched than the rest, Euthymius by name, was incited to such a pitch of fury that he bought a house for himself near the church, and in it placed a wagon in order that he might the more easily seize him and, having placed him in the cart, carry him into exile. *But his iniquity came down upon his own head;* for a year from that very day on which he planned to seize him, he himself, placed in the same cart, was sent from the same house into exile, reflecting that this had been turned upon him by the just judgment of God, that he was being taken into exile on that very cart which he himself had prepared for the bishop. And the bishop offered him no little consolation by giving him expenses and other things which were necessary.

13. But this acknowledgment on the part of the man checked neither the fury of the woman nor the folly of the crazed Arians,

dementia basilicam [2] Portianam inuadere nitebantur; exercitus etiam armatus ad custodiendas fores ecclesiae est directus ut nemo auderet Catholicam ecclesiam ingredi. sed Dominus, qui de aduersariis suis Ecclesiae suae triumphos donare consueuit, ad ecclesiae suae munimentum militum corda conuertit, ut aduersis scutis ecclesiae fores seruarent nec egredi dimitterent,[3] sed ingredi ecclesiam plebem [4] Catholicam minime prohiberent. sed nec [5] hoc satis erat missis militibus, nisi etiam pro Catholica fide cum plebe pariter adclamarent. hoc [6] in tempore [7] primum antiphonae, hymni et uigiliae in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari coeperunt. cuius celebritatis deuotio [8] usque [9] in hodiernum diem non solum in eadem ecclesia uerum per omnes paene prouincias occidentis manet.

CAPUT V.

Corpora ss. martyrum Geruasii et Protasii inuenit; qua occasione ex obsessorum corporibus daemones pelluntur. Arianorum caecitas et proteruitas.

14. Per idem tempus sancti martyres [1] Protasius [2] et Geruasius se sacerdoti reuelauerunt.[3] erant enim in basilica positi in qua sunt hodie corpora Naboris [4] et Felicis martyrum; sed sancti martyres Nabor et Felix celeberrime [5] frequentabantur, Protasii uero et Geruasii martyrum ut nomina ita etiam sepulcra incognita erant, in tantum [6] ut supra eorum sepulcra ambularent omnes qui uellent ad cancellos peruenire quibus sanctorum Naboris et Felicis martyrum ab iniuria sepulcra defendebantur. sed ubi sanctorum martyrum sunt corpora leuata et in lecticis posita, multorum ibi sanatae aegritudines [7] perdocentur. caecus etiam, Seuerus [8] nomine, qui nunc usque [9] in eadem basilica [10] quae dicitur Ambrosiana, in quam martyrum corpora sunt translata, religiose seruit, ubi uestem

2. ad fores ecclesiae custodiendas B. 4. suis] *om.* B. 5. auersis *editi.* 6. ingredi C. permitterent B. 8. nisi] ut *add.* A C. catholicam fidem D. 9. primo B C D. primo tempore B. hymni] ac *add. editi.* 10. celebrare C. 11. hodiernum] sempiternum C. 12. uerum] etiam *add.* B. occidentis prouincias *editi.* 14. Geruasius et Protasius D. 19. Naboris et Felicis martyrum corpora A. 21. sepultura A B C D. erat B. 22. ipsorum B C D. 24. iniuriis A. defendebantur sepulcra B. 25. corpora sunt D *editi.* 26 etiam] quidam A. nomine Seuerus A. 27. usque nunc D. in qua A C D, quo B. 28. sunt corpora D.

for roused with greater madness, they endeavored to break into the Portian Basilica; even an army under arms was sent to guard the doors of the church, that no one might dare to enter the Catholic church. But the Lord, who is wont to grant triumphs to His Church over its adversaries, moved the hearts of the soldiers to the defense of his church, so that turning their shields they guarded the doors of the church and did not permit any one to go out but did not at all prevent the Catholic people from entering the church. But not even this could suffice, when the soldiers had been sent, unless they too with the people likewise acclaimed the Catholic faith. At this time antiphons, hymns, and vigils began first to be practiced in the church of Milan. The devotion to this practise continues even to this very day not only in the same church but almost through all the provinces of the West.

CHAPTER V.

He finds the bodies of the holy martyrs Gervase and Protase, on which occasion devils are driven from the bodies of the possessed. The blindness and impudence of the Arians.

14. At this same time the holy martyrs Protase and Gervase revealed themselves to the Bishop. For they had been placed in the basilica in which today are the bodies of the martyrs Nabor and Felix; and the holy martyrs Nabor and Felix were being visited very frequently, but just as the names of the martyrs Gervase and Protase were unknown, so also were their burial places, so much so, that all walked over their graves who wished to come to the grates by which the sepulchres of the holy martyrs Nabor and Felix were protected from injury. But when the bodies of the holy martyrs were taken out and placed on biers, thereupon the diseases of many were shown to have been cured. Even a blind man, Severus by name, who to the present day devoutly serves in that same basilica which is called the Ambrosian, and into which the bodies of the martyrs were carried, as soon as he touched the

attigit, statim lumen recepit. obsessa etiam corpora a spiritibus [11] immundis curata summa cum gratia domum repetebant.[12] sed iis beneficiis martyrum in quantum [13] crescebat fides Ecclesiae Catholicae, in tantum Arianorum perfidia minuebatur.

15. Denique ex hoc tempore sedari coepit persecutio,[1] quae Iustinae furore accendebatur, ut sacerdos de [2] ecclesia pelleretur. tamen intra [3] palatium [4] multitudo Arianorum cum Iustina constituta deridebat tantam Dei gratiam, quam Ecclesiae suae Catholicae Dominus Iesus meritis martyrum suorum conferre [5] dignatus est. memorabilemque virum Ambrosium narrabat pecunia comparasse homines, qui se uexari ab immundis spiritibus mentirentur atque ab illo sanari et a martyribus se torqueri dicerent. sed hoc Iudaeico [6] ore loquebantur Ariani, — suppares scilicet eorum, — illi [7] enim de Domino dicebant,[8] quoniam *in Beelzebub* [9] *principe daemoniorum eiect daemonia:* isti de martyribus uel [10] de Domini sacerdote loquebantur,[11] quod non Dei gratia quae per ipsos operabatur immundi spiritus pellerentur, sed accepta pecunia se torqueri mentirentur. clamabant [12] enim daemones: "Scimus uos martyres;" et Ariani dicebant: "Nescimus esse martyres." iam hoc et [13] in Euangelio legimus, ubi dixerunt [14] daemones ad Dominum: *Scimus* [15] *te, qui sis Dei Filius:* et Iudaei dixerunt: *Hic* [16] *autem unde sit, nescimus.* sed non hic testimonium accipitur daemonum sed confessio: unde [17] miseriores Ariani uel [18] Iudaei ut quod confitentur daemones illi negent.

Luke, 11, 15

Mark, 1, 24 John, 9, 29

16. Deus tamen, qui gratiam Ecclesiae suae augere consueuit, non passus est diu insultari a perfidis [1] sanctis suis. unus itaque [2] ex ipsa multitudine subito arreptus spiritu immundo clamare coepit ita torqueri eos, ut ipse torquebatur, qui negarent martyres uel qui

1. spiritalibus *corr.* spiritibus D. 2. domo C. 4. tantam A. perfidia Arianorum C. perfidiam D. 5. persequutio B. quae] quem C. 7. tamen] quoniam *add.* B D. quoniam tamen C. palicium A. multitudo Arianorum] Arianorum manus A. 8. deridebant C. suae] *om.* D *editi.* quam] quia C. 10. pecuniam D. 11. atque] ut *add.* D, ita *add. editi.* 12. et] *om.* A. ad *corr.* a D. 13. eorum] Iudaeorum *add* A. suppares *corr.* supplicio D. 14. principem C. daemoniorum] hic *add.* D. 16. operabantur C. 18. nos A. uos] esse *add.* A. 19. et sed Ariani . . . martyres] *in marg.* D. nescimus] uos *add.* A. 20. Dominum] Iesum *add.* D *editi.* 21. te] *om.* C. quia *editi.* Filius Dei A B. dicebant *editi*, *corr.* dixerunt D. hunc C. 22. sit] scit A. hoc *corr.* hic D. accipiatur *corr.* accipitur D. 23. uel] quam D. 24. negant B C D. 26. est] *om.* A. itaque] et unus *add.* C. 27. ex ipsa] *om.* C. arreptus] a *add. editi.* 28. negare C.

clothing of the martyrs, immediately received his sight. Bodies, also, possessed by unclean spirits were cured and returned home with the greatest gratitude. And as the faith of the Catholic Church increased by these blessings effected through the martyrs, so did the heresy of the Arians diminish.

15. Finally, from this time, the persecution which was aroused by the fury of Justina, that the bishop might be driven from the church, began to subside. However, in the palace a great number of Arians siding with Justina scoffed at so great a grace of God which the Lord Jesus deigned to confer upon the Catholic Church through the merits of His martyrs, and they said that the venerable man, Ambrose, by means of money had procured men to say falsely that they were troubled by unclean spirits and to assert that they were tortured by him just as also by the martyrs. But the Arians uttered this with the words of the Jews—indeed being very like them—for the latter said of the Lord that *He drove out devils in the name of Beelzebub, the prince of devils;* the former said of the martyrs and of the bishop of the Lord, that not by the grace of God which operated through them, were the unclean spirits driven out, but that, after receiving money, they said falsely that they were tortured. For the devils called out: "We know you are martyrs," and the Arians said: "We do not know that you are martyrs." Now we read this in the Gospel also, when the devils spoke to the Lord Jesus: "*We know You, that You are the Son of God*"; and the Jews said: "*But as to this man we know not whence He is.*" But here is understood not the testimony of the devils, but their confession; wherefore the more wretched are the Arians and the Jews that they should deny what the devils confess.

16. But God who is wont to increase the grace of His Church, did not long permit His Saints to be reviled by the faithless. So one of this number, suddenly possessed by an unclean spirit, began to shout that those who denied the martyrs or who did not

non crederent [3] in Trinitatis unitatem quam docet Ambrosius. at illi hac noce confusi qui conuerti debuerant et dignam tali confessione agere [4] paenitentiam, in piscinam demersum hominem necauerunt, perfidiae homicidium [5] iungentes; deduxit enim illos ad hunc finem digna necessitas. sanctus uero Ambrosius episcopus maioris humilitatis [6] uir factus donatam sibi a Domino gratiam reseruabat crescebatque cotidie fide et amore coram [7] Deo et hominibus.

17. Per idem tempus erat quidam uir de [1] haeresi Arianorum, acerrimus nimium disputator et durus atque inconuertibilis [2] ad fidem Catholicam. is constatutus in ecclesia, tractante episcopo, audit, ut ipse postmodum [3] loquebatur, angelum ad aures episcopi tractantis loquentem ut uerba angeli populo episcopus renuntiare uideretur. quo uiso conuersus fidem quam expugnabat coepit ipse defendere.

18. Fuerunt etiam duo cubicularii tunc temporis Gratiani imperatoris de [1] haeresi Arianorum, qui tractandam episcopo quaestionem proponerent, ad quam audiendam altero die ad basilicam Portianam se adfuturos promiserant; erat enim quaestio de Incarnatione [2] Domini. sed alio [3] die miserandi homines superbiae [4] tumore completi nec memores promissorum, contemnentes Deum in sacerdote ipsius nec plebis exspectantis considerantes iniuriam, immemores etiam dictorum dominicorum, [5] quoniam *qui* [6] *scandalizauerit unum ex minimis istis, oportet ut mola asinaria collo eius alligetur, et demergatur in profundum maris,* conscendentes rhedam quasi gratia [7] gestandi ciuitatem [8] egressi sunt, exspectante sacerdote uel [9] plebe in ecclesia constituta. sed huius contumaciae qui finis fuerit horresco [10] referens; subito enim praecipitati de

Matth. 18, 6

2. hac] ac C. hanc *corr.* hac D. 3. piscina A, piscinam *corr.* piscina D. hominem demersum A. hominum D. negauerunt *corr.* necauerunt C. 4. adiungentes *editi*, *corr.* iungentes D. 5. digna] summa A. *corr.* digna D. 7. reseruauit A C. reseruabat *corr.* reseruauit D. coram] *om. editi.* et (2°)] coram *add.* D. 11. is] his C. 12. postea B. ad aures . . . (l. 13) angeli] *om.* A. 13. nuntiare A. 14. uiderentur B. ipsam *corr.* ipse D. 16. fuerant *editi.* tempore C. 17. tractante D, tractanti *editi.* quaestionem episcopo A. 19. adfuturum *corr.* adfuturos D. 20. superbias] et *add.* D. 21. nec *corr.* in D. 22. sacerdotes C. 23. immerores D. dictorum] *om.* B. doctorum C. dominicorum] praeceptorum *add.* B. quis C. scandalizat D. 24. in collo A C. 25. ascendentes *editi.* conscendentes] in *add.* C *editi.* rhedam] edem C. 26. gestandi gratia D. gratiam C. 27. uel] et *editi.* ecclesiam constitutam *corr.* ecclesia constituta D. 28. quis *editi.* referre C. subito] et *add.* D. enim] *om.* C.

believe in the unity of the Trinity—which Ambrose teaches—were being tortured as he himself was. But they, disturbed by these words, who should have been converted and done penance worthy of such a confession, immersed the man in a pond and killed him, adding murder to their unbelief; for a deserving fate drove them to this end. Yet Saint Ambrose, having become a man of greater humility as bishop, preserved the grace given him by the Lord and increased daily in his faith and love before the eyes of God and men.

17. At this same time there was a certain man of the Arian heresy, a very keen polemicist, and hardened and inconvertible to the Catholic faith. He, being in the church while the bishop was preaching, saw, as he himself afterwards said, an angel speaking into the ears of the bishop as he preached, so that the bishop seemed to be proclaiming the words of the angel to the people. Being converted at this sight, he himself began to defend the faith which he was wont to attack.

18. There were also at that time two chamberlains of the emperor Gratian, members of the Arian heresy, who proposed a question for the bishop to discuss, and, to hear it discussed, promised to be present at the Portian Basilica the next day; for it was a question concerning the Incarnation of the Lord. But on the next day these miserable men filled with swollen pride and unmindful of their promise, despising God in the person of His bishop and taking no consideration of the injustice done the waiting people, unmindful also of the words of the Lord that "*he that shall scandalize one of these little ones ought to have a mill stone hanged about his neck and be drowned in the depth of the sea,*" mounting a travelling carriage as if for a drive, they left the city while the bishop waited and the people were in the church. And I shudder as I tell what the outcome of this insolence was: for being hurled suddenly from the carriage they lost their lives and

rhela animas emiserunt atque corpora [11] illorum sepulturae sunt tradita. sanctus uero Ambrosius, cum ignoraret [12] quod factum esset nec diutius posset plebem [13] tenere, ascendens pro tribunali de eadem quaestione quae fuerat [14] proposita sermonem adorsus est, dicens: [15] "Debitum, fratres, cupio soluendum, sed hesternos meos non inuenio creditores." et reliqua [16] quae scripta sunt in libro qui de [17] Incarnatione Domini titulatur.[18]

CAPUT VI.

Eius ad Maximum usurpatorem legatio et sacerdotalis contra eundem uigor. daemonibus est terrori.

19. Occiso itaque [1] Gratiano [2] imperatore recipiendi corporis eius causa secundam ad Maximum [3] suscepit legationem. apud quem quam constanter egerit qui noluerit cognoscere, ipsius legationis epistolam ad Valentinianum [4] iuniorem [5] datam cum legerit approbabit; nobis enim alienum a promissione uisum est illam [6] inserere ne adiunctae epistolae prolixitas [7] fastidium legenti [8] afferret. ipsum uero Maximum a communionis [9] consortio segregauit admonens ut effusi sanguinis domini sui.—et quod est grauius,—innocentis ageret paenitentiam, si sibi apud Deum uellet esse consultum. sed ille cum paenitentiam declinat superbo spiritu, non solum futuram sed etiam praesentem salutem amisit regnumque quod male arripuerat femineo quodam modo timore deposuit, ut procuratorem se reipublicae non imperatorem fuisse confiteretur.

20. Mortua uero Iustina cum quidam haruspex, Innocentius [1] nomini non tamen opere, in causa maleficiorum a iudici torqueretur, aliud quam interrogabatur fateri coepit; clamabat enim ab

2. ignorasset B C. ignoraret *corr.* ignorasset D. quid *editi, corr.* quod D. 3. posse C. possit *corr.* posset D. 4. quaestione] *in marg.* D. sermone A C. 5. cupio] iudeo A, curo B C D. hesternos] externos C. 6. in libro conscripta sunt D. 7. qui] que D. intitulatur *editi.* 11. imperatori C. de recipiendi B. 12. secunda C. 13. quem] quam B. 14. cum] qui B. 15. alieni C. ad promissionem C. illa C. 16. legendi B. 17. afferat A. 18. sanguis C. 20. consulatum *corr.* consultum D. dum *corr.* cum D. cum ille C. paenitentia A C. superbus A B D. 21. futurum C. amisit] et *add.* A B D. regnumque] que *om.* A B, *corr.* D. 22. male] *om.* C. disposuit C. 23. se procuratorem A B D. reipublicae non imperatorem] *om.* B. imperator C. 24. cum] *om. editi.* 25. tamen] *om.* C. opere] cum *add. editi.* maleficiorum] cum *add.* C. 26. interrogaretur A, interrogaret C. ab] eo *add.* A *in marg.*

their bodies were given over for burial. But Saint Ambrose, since he did not know what had happened and was no longer able to hold the people, rising before the tribunal began a sermon on the very question which had been proposed, saying: "Brethren, I desire my debt to be paid, but I do not find my creditors of yesterday," and so forth, as it is written in the book which is entitled: "On the Incarnation of the Lord."

CHAPTER VI

His legation to Maximus the usurper, and the episcopal zeal against him. He is a terror to the demons.

19. And so after the emperor Gratian had been killed, for the sake of recovering his body he undertook a second embassy to Maximus. He who wishes to learn how firmly he dealt with him will determine when he has read the letter of this embassy sent to Valentinian the younger; for it has seemed to us inconsistent with our promise to insert it, lest the prolixity of the letter when added cause irritation to the reader. And Maximus himself he kept from partaking of Communion, admonishing him to do penance for having shed the blood of his master, and—what is worse—an innocent man, if he wished to receive consideration for himself before God. But when he with a haughty spirit refused to do penance, he not only lost salvation for the future but also for the present, and the imperial power which he had wickedly seized, in the manner of a woman, he laid down through fear, thereby confessing that he had been the procurator of the state not the emperor.

20. Now when, after the death of Justina, a certain sooth-sayer Innocent by name, though not in deed, during a trial for his misdeeds was being put to torture by the judge, he began to confess something different from what he was being asked; for he cried

angelo [2] maiora tormenta sibi adhiberi eo qui custodiret Ambrosium, quoniam temporibus Iustinae ad excitanda odia populorum in episcopum cacumen [3] tecti ecclesiae conscendens medio noctis sacrificauerit.[4] sed quanto instantius et sollicitius opera maligna [5] exercebat, tanto magis amor populi circa [6] fidem Catholicam et Domini sacerdotem conualescebat. misisse etiam se et daemones qui illum internecarent [7] fatebatur sed daemones renuntiasse se minime non solum ad ipsum appropinquare posse uerum etiam nec [8] ad fores domus in qua manebat episcopus, quia [9] ignis insuperabilis [10] omne [11] illud aedificium communiret ut etiam longe positi [12] urerentur; atque ita cessasse artes suas quibus aduersus Domini sacerdotem se aliquid posse arbitrabatur. alius etiam gladium ferens ad cubiculum usque peruenit ut interficeret sacerdotem; sed cum eleuasset [13] manum districto gladio dextera obrigente remansit. tunc se missum a Iustina postquam confessus est, bracchium, quod inique cum extenderetur obrigerat, sanatum est confessione.

21. Per idem tempus cum uir illustris Probus puerum suum notarium qui spiritu immundo grauiter uexabatur direxisset [1] ad episcopum, egressum urbe dimisit diabolus timens [2] ad uirum sanctum perduci. atque ita puer quamdiu Mediolani apud episcopum fuit, nulla in illo diaboli dominatio apparuit; sed ubi egressus [3] de Mediolano est et prope urbem peruenit, idem spiritus qui illum antea habuerat uexare coepit. qui cum interrogaretur ab exorcistis [4] cur quamdiu Mediolani fuisset non in illo apparuisset,

1. angelo] sibi *add.* D. sibi] *om.* B D. eo] *om.* A. tormenta adhiberi eoque custodire B. qui *corr.* quod D. 3. episcopum] Ambrosium B. cacum C. tecti] *om.* C. conscendent C. media D. noctis] tempore *add.* D. 4. sollitius C. 5. populi] a *add.* A. 6. se etiam *editi corr.* etiam se D. et] *om.* A B. 7. fatebantur C. sed] se C. 8. se non solum ad ipsum appropinquare minime posse *editi.* propinquare B. 9. nec] ne A B D. ad fores] foribus B. quia] que C, quoniam A B D. 11. uererentur C. atque] et B. *om.* D. aduersum A. 12. quibus aliquid posse arbitrabatur aduersus Domini sacerdotem B. arbitrabantur *corr.* arbitrabatur D. 13. interficerent *corr.* interficeret D. 14. dextera] exserta in aera *add. editi.* 16. cum] *om.* D. rigurat C D. 17. confessione est A B D. 20. egressum] ex *add. editi.* urbem B D. sanctum uirum B. 21. ita] *om.* C. 22. in illo] *om.* C. diaboli dominatio apparuit] communicatio diaboli apparuit C, dominatio diaboli apparuit D. ubi] est *add.* C. de] *om. editi.* 23. Mediolanio D. et] *om.* A. uenit B. quem A. illum] *om.* A. 24. antea] *om.* B, ante D. uexare] eum *add. editi.* 25. fuisset Mediolani A B D, fuit C. in illo non A.

out that greater torments were being applied to him by that angel who was protecting Ambrose, because in the time of Justina, ascending the top of the roof of the church, he had offered sacrifices in the middle of the night to arouse the hatred of the people against the bishop. But the more insistently and assiduously he practiced his malignant work, the greater grew the love of the people for the Catholic faith and the bishop of the Lord. He confessed that he had also sent demons to kill him but that the demons had reported that they were not only entirely unable to go near him but even could not go near the doors of the house in which the bishop abode, because an insurmountable fire completely protected that building so that even though being far off they were burned; and that he thus had given up his artifices by which he thought that he might do something against the bishop of the Lord. Another person also came even to his bedchamber, carrying a sword to kill the bishop; but when he had raised his hand he remained there with drawn sword in his stiffened right hand. Then after he had confessed that he had sent by Justina, the arm, which had become stiff as it was being stretched in wickedness, was cured by the confession.

21. At the same time when a certain Probus, a man of high rank, had sent to the bishop his servant, a secretary, who was being seriously troubled by an unclean spirit, the devil left him as he departed from the city, fearing to be brought to the holy man. And so as long as the boy was with the bishop in Milan, no power of the devil appeared in him; but when he left Milan and came near the city, the same spirit which had possessed him before began to torment him. And when the devil was questioned by the exorcists, why he had not appeared in him as long as he had been in Milan,

confessus est diabolus timuisse se Ambrosium et ideo [5] recessisse ad tempus [6] atque exspectasse in illo loco ubi ab illo recesserat donec reuerteretur, quo reuertente uas quod deseruerat repetiisset.

CAPUT VII.

Gratia apud Theodosium valet, quem propter ciuium Thessalonicensium eadem sacramentorum communione privat. S. episcopi fama ad Persas usque penetrat.

22. Exstincto itaque Maximo, posito [1] Theodosio imperatore Mediolani, Ambrosio uero episcopo constituto [2] Aquileiae,[3] in partibus [4] orientis in quodam castello a Christianis uiris synagoga [5] Iudaeorum et locus Valentinianorum incendio [6] conremata sunt propterea quod Iudaei uel Valentiniani insultarent monachis Christianis; Valentinianorum [7] enim haeresis triginta deos colit. sed [8] de huiusmodi facto comes orientis ad [9] imperatorem relationem direxit, qua accepta imperator praeceperat ut synagoga ab episcopo loci reaedificaretur,[10] in monachos uero uindicaretur. sed huius praecepti tenor [11] cum ad [12] aures peruenisset uenerabilis uiri Ambrosii episcopi, direxit [13] ad imperatorem epistolam quia ipse in tempore [14] excurrere non poterat, qua illum conuenit [15] ut id quod ab eodem statutum [16] fuerat reuocaretur seruarique sibi debere ab eo audientiam, qui si dignus non esset qui ab illo audiretur, dignus etiam non esset qui pro illo a Domino audiretur, uel [17] cui suas preces aut cui sua uota committeret; paratum etiam se esse pro tali negotio mortem subire ne dissimulatione [18] sui praeuaricatorem [19] faceret imperatorem, qui tam iniusta contra Ecclesiam praecepisset.

1. se] *om.* B. et] *om.* B. recessisset A B C D. 2. exspectasset B D. exspectasse] ad tempus *add.* B D. loco illo A. 3. repetisse A D. recoepisset C. 8. itaque] *om. editi.* deposito D. 9. Mediolano D. constituto] in *add.* A. episcopo] *om.* D. 11. locus C. lucos D. 12. Valentinianici *corr.* Valentiniani D. Christianis] *om.* B. 13. enim] *om.* C. haereses C. tres A. colunt C. 14. comis *corr.* comes D. relationem] *om.* B. 15. misit *corr.* direxit D. accepta] acta C. praecepit A. ad episcopum C. 16. loci] *om.* C. redificaretur A. in . . . uindicaretur] *om.* C D. 17. uiri] *om.* B D. 19. accurere A. quia C. *corr.* qua D. id] *om.* B. 20. constitutum C, statum D. deberi A C. 21. eo] illo A B D. qui] quia *editi.* si] sibi B. se *corr.* sibi D. dignum C D. 22. qui] ut A. illo] eo C. pro . . . (l. 23) vota] *in marg.* D. a Domino] *om.* C D. 23. preces suas C. aut] uel D, *om.* B. cui] *om.* A. equam *corr.* etiam D. 24. nec B. dissimulationem C D. 25. iniuste C.

he confessed that he had feared Ambrose, and therefore had withdrawn for a time and had awaited in that place, where he had withdrawn from the boy, until he should return, and when he did return he had sought again the vessel which he had deserted.

CHAPTER VII.

His favor prevails over Theodosius, whom on account of the massacre of the citizens of Thessalonica he deprives of participation in the sacraments. The fame of the holy bishop reaches even to the Persians.

22. Now when Maximus had been executed and the emperor Theodosius was at Milan and Bishop Ambrose was at Aquileia, in the regions of the East, in a certain fortified city, the Jewish synagogue and a grove of the Valentinians were burned by the Christians because either the Jews or the Valentinians had insulted the Christian monks; for the Valentinian heretics worship thirty gods. And the Count of the East sent a report of the act to the emperor, who, when he received it, ordered the synagogue to be rebuilt by the bishop of the place and, moreover, that punishment be exacted of the monks. But when the tenor of this order had reached the ears of the venerable man, Bishop Ambrose, he despatched a letter to the emperor because he himself was unable to hasten forth at that time, in which he requested of him that what had been decreed by him should be recalled, and stated that an audience should be reserved for himself by him, who, if he were unworthy to be heard by him, would also be unworthy to be heard in his behalf by the Lord or to whomever he should entrust his entreaties and prayers; furthermore, that he was prepared to undergo death for such a matter, lest by his negligence he might make an apostate out of the emperor, who had given such unjust orders against the Church.

23. Postea uero quam Mediolanum reuersus est, posito[1] imperatore in ecclesia de eadem causa tractauit in populo. in quo tractatu[2] introduxit Domini personam loquentis imperatori: "Ego[3] te ex ultimo imperatorem feci, ego tibi exercitum inimici tui tradidi, ego tibi copias quas ille aduersum te exercitui suo praeparauerat dedi, ego inimicum tuum in potestatem tuam redigi, ego de semine tuo supra solium regni constitui, ego te triumphare[4] sine labore feci; et tu de me inimicis meis donas triumphos?" cui descendenti de exedra[5] imperator ait: "Contra nos proposuisti hodie, episcope." at ille respondit non se contra ipsum sed pro ipso fuisse[6] locutum. tunc imperator: "Reuera," inquit, "dure praeceperam contra episcopum de synagoga reparanda; in monachos uero uindicandum esse." ita et a comitibus qui in tempore aderant dicebatur. quibus episcopus: "Ego quidem cum imperatore nunc ago, uobiscum uero mihi aliter agendum est." atque ita obtinuit ut illa quae statuta[7] fuerant reuocarentur, nec prius ad altare accedere uoluit nisi fide sua imperator illum agere debere testaretur. cui episcopus: "Ergo ago fide tua?" respondit[8] imperator: "Age fide mea." qua sponsione iterata iam securus peregit sacerdos diuina mysteria.[9] haec[10] autem scripta sunt in epistola quam ad germanam suam fecit, in qua tractatum inseruit quem eodem die habuit de[11] baculo nuceo, qui a propheta Hieremia uisus esse describitur. Jerem. 1, 11

24. Per idem tempus causa[1] Thessalonicensis ciuitatis non minima successit tribulatio[2] sacerdoti, cum paene comperisset ciuitatem deletam. promiserat enim illi imperator se ueniam daturum cuibus supradictae ciuitatis, sed agentibus comitibus occulte cum imperatore, ignorante sacerdote, usque[3] in horam tertiam

1. quam] cum A B C, *corr.* cum D. Mediolanio D. reuertisset A, reuerteretur B, reuertit C, reuertisset *corr.* reuerteretur D. 3. introduxit] **proposuit A.** 5. **tibi]** *om.* **C. aduersus** *corr.* **aduersum D. exercitu A.** praeparauerat A B D. 6. ego . . . redegi] *in marg.* A, *om.* B. potestate tua **A D. tuam]** *om.* **D.** 7. **super** *corr.* **supra D. te]** *om.* **C.** 8. **meis** *corr.* **tuis D.** 9. **de]** *om.* **C. posuisti C.** 10 **responderis ait C. ipsum D.** 11. imperator] dixit *add.* D. dura C. 13. ita et] *om.* C. 15. agam A. 16. obtenuit *corr.* obtinuit D. 17. fidem suam B D. illud se A. 18. ergo *corr.* ego D. 19. fidem tuam B. tuam *corr.* suam D. fidem meam B D. iam] *om.* A B D. 20. pergebat A B. *corr.* pergebat D. sacerdos] ad *add.* D. mysteria] celebrare *add.* A B. 22. habuerat A B D. habuit] dicere *add.* D. 23. esse] *om.* A. 24. casa C. 25. sacerdotis B D. comperisset paene D. **repperisset B.** 27. **subdice D.** 28. **cum . . . sacerdote]** *om.* **D.**

23. However, after he had returned to Milan and when the emperor was present in the church, he preached in the presence of the people on this same subject. In this discourse he introduced the person of our Lord as speaking to the emperor: "I made you emperor from the lowest, I delivered the army of your enemy to you, I gave to you the troops which he had prepared as his army against you, I brought your enemy into your power, I placed one of your seed on the throne of the empire, I made you triumph without labor, and do you give triumphs to my enemies over me?" The emperor said to him as he descended from the pulpit: "You spoke against us today, bishop." But he answered that he had not spoken against him but for him. Then the emperor said: "Truly, I gave a stern command to the bishop on the restoration of the synagogue, moreover that punishment must be exacted of the monks." So too was it reported by the counts who were present at the time. The bishop said to them: "I now treat, of course, with the emperor, but with you I must treat otherwise." And so he contrived that the orders which had been given should be recalled, and he said he would not approach the altar unless the emperor should show by his promise that he ought to go on. And the bishop said to him: "Shall I therefore go on, with your promise?" The emperor answered: "Go on, with my promise." After this solemn promise had been repeated the bishop now, without anxiety, performed the divine mysteries. These things, however, were written in a letter which he sent to his sister, and in it he enclosed the sermon which he preached on that same day about the staff of the nut tree which is described as having been seen by the prophet Jeremias.

24. At the same time on account of the city of Thessalonica no little distress came upon the bishop, when he learned that that city had been almost wiped out. For the emperor had promised him that he would grant pardon to the citizens of the above mentioned city, but when the counts had consulted secretly with the emperor without the knowledge of the bishop the city was

gladio ciuitas est donata atque plurimi interempti innocentes. quod factum ubi cognouit sacerdos, copiam imperatori ingrediendi ecclesiam denegauit, nec prius dignum iudicauit coetu ecclesiae uel sacramentorum [4] communione quam publicam ageret paenitentiam. cui imperator contra asserebat Dauid adulterium simul et homicidium perpetrasse.[5] sed responsum illico est: "Qui secutus es errantem, sequere corrigentem." quod ubi audiuit clementissimus imperator ita suscepit animo ut publicam [6] paenitentiam non abhorreret, cuius correctionis profectus [7] secundam illi parauit uictoriam.

25. Per idem tempus duo potentissimi et sapientissimi uiri Persarum ad famam sacerdotis uenere Mediolanum, deferentes secum plurimas quaestiones ut ex his probarent sapientiam uiri, cum quo ab hora diei prima usque [1] in horam tertiam noctis per interpretem disputauerunt admirantesque discesserunt ab eo. et ut se probarent non ob aliam causam uenisse nisi ut certo certius nossent uirum quem fama compererant, alia [2] die ualefacientes [3] imperatori profecti sunt ad urbem Romam, illic nolentes cognoscere potentiam illustris uiri Probi; qua cognita, ad propria [4] remearunt.

CAPUT VIII.

Symmacho urbis praefecto restitutionem aræ Victoriae urgenti fortiter resistit. SS. martyrum reliquias inuenit. gratia apud Deum et auctoritate apud imperatorem et reginam Marcomannorum ualet.

26. Sed egresso [1] Theodosio de Italia et Constantinopoli constituto,[2] Valentiniano augusto intra [3] Gallias posito,[4] directa [5] legatio est sub [6] nomine senatus a Symmacho,[7] tunc praefecto [8] urbis, de

1. gladio] *om.* B D. ciuitatis *corr.* ciuitas A. interempti] sunt *add.* A. 2. cognouit] comperisset C. ingrediente D. ecclesiae D. 3. coetui A B C D. uel] aut A B. 4. communioni A C D. agere C. 5. cui] cum D. imperatore *corr.* imperator D. contra] econtra B, se *add.* C. 6. perpetrasset C. 8. publicam] agere *add.* A. 9. secundo C. 12. uenire C D, *corr.* uenere A. Mediolanio D. 13. ex illis C. 14. diei] *om.* D. in horam] ad horam C, fere *add.* A C. in hora tertia D. tertiam noctis] C *in ras.* 15. interpetrem D. admirantique D. 16. certo] *om.* B. 17. famam D. comperarant C. facientes uale episcopo uel D. 18. ad] *om.* C. agnoscere C. 19. reuerterunt C. 26. Italiam *corr.* Italia D. et] ac A. Constantinopolim B D. 27. augusto] *om.* B. relatio C. 28. praefectus C.

given to the sword for almost three hours and many innocent were slain. When the bishop learned of this deed he refused the emperor any opportunity of entering the church, nor did he judge him worthy of union with the church or of the participation in the sacraments, before he should do public penance. On the other hand, the emperor declared to him that David had committed adultery and also homicide. But straightway the reply was given: "You who have followed him as he sinned, follow him as he corrected himself." When the most merciful emperor heard this he so took it to heart that he did not scorn public penance, and the progress of this correction prepared for him a favorable victory.

25. At the same time two of the most powerful and wisest men of the Persians, because of the fame of the bishop, came to Milan, bringing with them many questions that thereby they might make trial of wisdom of the great man, and with him they argued through an interpreter from the first hour of the day until the third hour of the night, and they went away full of wonder. And to show that they had come for no other reason than really to get better acquainted with the man of whom they had heard of by report, on the next day bidding farewell to the emperor they set out for the city of Rome, wishing there to become acquainted with the power of the illustrious man Probus; and when they had become acquainted with it they returned to their own home.

CHAPTER VIII.

He firmly resists Symmachus, the Prefect of the city who urges the restitution of the altar of Victory. He finds the relics of the holy martyrs. Through his favor with God and his authority, he prevails over the emperor and the queen of the Marcomanni.

26. But when Theodosius had left Italy and was at Constantinople, an embassy was sent to the emperor Valentinian who was in Gaul, in the name of the Senate by Symmachus, then the Pre-

repetenda ara [9] Victoriae [10] et sumptibus caerimoniarum. sed [11] ubi comperit sacerdos missо libello ad imperatorem postulauit ut ad se relationis exemplaria dirigerentur,[12] quibus ipse pro partibus suis responsurus esset. qua relatione accepta, praeclarissimum libellum conscripsit ut contra nihil unquam auderet Symmachus uir eloquentissimus respondere; sed postquam augustae memoriae Valentinianus in Viennensi ciuitate, quae est Galliarum ciuitas, uitam [13] finiuit, Eugenius [14] suscepit imperium. qui ubi imperare coepit, non multo post, petentibus Flauiano [15] tunc praefecto et Arbogaste [16] comite, aram Victoriae et sumptus caerimoniarum,—quod Valentinianus augustae memoriae adhuc iunioribus annis constitutus [17] petentibus denegauerat,—oblitus fidei suae concessit.

27. Hoc ubi cognouit sacerdos, derelicta ciuitate Mediolanensi ad quam ille festinato [1] ueniebat, ad Bononiensem [2] ciuitatem migrauit atque inde Faentiam [3] usque perrexit, ubi cum aliquantis [4] degeret diebus inuitatus a Florentinis, ad Tusciam [5] usque descendit declinans magis [6] aspectum sacrilegi [7] uiri, non formidans imperantis iniuriam; nam et [8] epistolam ad [9] eundem dedit in qua conuenit conscientiam illius, de qua pauca de [10] multis ponenda duxi. "Etsi [11] imperatoria potestas magna sit, tamen considera, imperator, quantus sit Deus, corda omnium uidet, conscientiam interiorem interrogat, nouit omnia, antequam fiant, nouit interna [12] pectoris tui. ipsi falli nos non patimini, et Deum uultis celare? non cecidit in animum tuum quidquam? si illi agebant tam perseueranter,[13] nonne tuum fuit, imperator, pro Dei summi et ueri [14] et uiui ueneratione perseuerantius [15] obsistere et negare, quod erat in [16] iniuriam sacrae legis?" et iterum: "Quoniam igitur meis

3. exempla A. 4. suis] *om.* A. responsurum C. 5. ut] cui A. umqua C D. 6. responderit *corr.* respondere D. 7. Gallorum B D. 8. finibit *corr.* finiuit D. 9. imperare coepit] imperator esse coepit D. tunc Flauiano C. 10. sumptibus B. 11. adhuc] *om.* D. iunioribus] decim *add.* C. 12. constitutus] est *add.* C. 14. agnouit A B D, audiuit C. relicta A C. ciuitati C. 15. illo C. ciuitatem] se *add.* C D. emigrauit *editi.* 16. inde] *in marg.* D. Fauentia C. usque] *om.* B. 17. degerat C. ad] a C. 18. sacrilegi uiri aspectum A. formidant C. 19. nam] aut B. et] *om.* C. 20. quam *corr.* qua D. de multis] e multis B. 21. considerator C. 22. imperator] *om.* C. Deus] qui *add.* C D. omnium] hominum C *editi.* 23. fiant] C *in ras.* 24. nos] ei D. 25. quicquam B C D. 26 imperator fuit B. et uiui] *om.* C. 27. perseuerantibus B. 28. in] *om.* C D. iniuria B D. sacrae legis] *om.* C, legi B. et] *om.* C.

fect of the city, regarding the restitution of the altar of Victory and the maintainance of the sacred rites. But when the bishop found this out, he sent a petition to the emperor and demanded that copies of the report be sent him, to which he himself for his part would reply. When he received this report he wrote a most splendid letter, so that Symmachus, eloquent as he was, dared answer nothing in reply; but after Valentinian of sacred memory had ended his life in the city of Vienna, which is a city of the Gauls, Eugenius ascended the throne. He, not long after he began to reign, when Flavian the Prefect of that time and Count Arbogast made petition for the altar of Victory and the maintainance of the sacred rites,—a thing which Valentinian of sacred memory, while still in tender years, had denied them when they petitioned him—forgetful of his faith granted their request.

27. When the bishop learned this, leaving the city of Milan to which Eugenius had come in haste, he set out for the city of Bologna, and thence proceeded as far as Faventia. And when he spent a few days there, at the invitation of the Florentines, he went down to Tuscia, avoiding rather the sight of the sacrilegious man, and not fearing injury from the emperor; for he even sent him a letter in which he addressed his conscience, from which I think that a few of the many points should be quoted here. "Even if the imperial power is great, yet consider, Emperor, how great is God. He sees the hearts of all, He examines their interior conscience, He knows all things before they happen, He knows the secrets of your heart. You do not allow yourself to be deceived and you wish to conceal things from God? Has nothing come to your mind? If they acted so persistently, was it not your duty, Emperor, to oppose more persistently for the worship of God, the most high and the true and the living, and to refuse what was to the injury of the Holy Law?" And again: "Since then I am bound by my

uocibus et apud Deum et apud homines teneor, aliud mihi non licere intellexi, aliud non oportere, nisi ut consulerem mihi quia non potui tibi."

28. In supradicta itaque ciuitate Florentinorum, cum in domo clarissimi quondam uiri Decentis [1] et quod est amplius, Christiani, maneret, filius ipsius Pansophius [2] nomine admodum paruulus, cum spiritu immundo laboraret, frequenti oratione [3] et impositione [4] manus sacerdotis ipsius est sanatus; sed post aliquantos [5] dies subita infirmitate [6] correptus infantulus exhalauit [7] spiritum, cuius mater ualde religiosa et plena [8] fide ac timore Dei ablato [9] illo de superiore parte domus ad inferiora descendit ac in lecto sacerdotis, ipso absente, composuit, quem cum reuertens sacerdos in lectulo inuenisset,—erat enim illo in tempore extra domum positus,[10]—miseratus matrem et fidem ipsius [11] contemplatus, Elisaeo [12] similis supra corpus infantis se ipse composuit atque orando [13] meruit ut unum redderet matri, quem mortuum inuenerat; ad quem etiam infantulum libellum conscripsit, ut quod per [14] aetatis infantiam scire non poterat legendo [15] cognosceret. nerumtamen factum scriptis suis non commemorauit, sed quo affectu declinauerit commemorare non est nostrum indicare. 4 Kings. 4. 34

29. In eadem etiam ciuitate basilicam constituit, in qua deposuit [1] reliquias martyrum Vitalis [2] et Agricolae, quorum corpora in Bononiensi ciuitate leuauerat; [3] posita enim erant corpora martyrum inter corpora Iudaeorum nec erat cognitum populo Christiano, nisi se sancti martyres sacerdoti ipsius ecclesiae reuelassent. quae cum deponerentur sub altari, quod est in eadem basilica constitutum, magna illic totius plebis sanctae laetitia atque exsultatio [4] fuit, poena daemonum confitentium martyrum merita.

1. et (1)] *om.* D. apud (2)] *om.* B, omnes *add.* D *editi.* teneo D. 2. ut] *om.* C. consularer D. 4. itaque] *om.* B. 5. quodam C. Decenti A C D. 6. admodum] multum *add.* B. 8. senatus A. 9. subita] uita *add.* C. subita infirmitate correptus] *om.* B. subdita D. 10. ablato] *in marg.* A. 11. ac] atque A B D, hac C. 12. sacerdos] *om.* A. 13. in lecto B. illo] que *add.* C. in] *om.* A. extra domum] *om.* B. 14. miratus B. illius D. 16. orandum D. ut] *om.* C. reddere C. 17. infantulum] *om.* C. 18. per] *om.* C. infantia C. agnosceret C. 20. declinauit A. declinauerit] non *add.* D. nostrum non est D. 21. ciuitatem *corr.* ciuitate D. basilica C. 22. quorum] eorum C. 23. Bononiense C D. corpora] *om.* A. 25. nisi] postquam *add.* A. ipsi C. ecclesiae] *om.* C. reuelarent A C D. 26. est] *om.* C D. eodem D. constitutum] est *add.* C D. 27. illi C.

words both before God and before men, I thought nothing else was permitted to me, nothing else proper, but to look to my own welfare since I could not look to yours."

28. And in the above mentioned city of Florence, while he stayed in the home of the late Decens, who was a man of high rank and what is more, a Christian, his son, Pansophius by name, still a mere child, when he was laboring with an unclean spirit, was cured by repeated prayers and by the bishop himself imposing his hands; but some days after, seized by sudden illness, the little child breathed forth his soul. And his mother, who was very pious and full of faith and the fear of God, taking him descended from the upper to the lower part of the house and placed him on the bed of the bishop in his absence. When on his return the bishop found him there on his bed—for he had been out of the house at that time —full of pity for the mother and witnessing her faith, like Elisaeus, he laid himself down on the body of the child and through prayer succeeded in returning alive to the mother the child, whom he had found dead; and for this child also he wrote a little book so that, what he was not able to realize on account of his infant age, he might learn through reading. Nevertheless, he did not mention the occurrence in his writings, but on what consideration he refused to mention it, it is not ours to judge.

29. In the same city also he founded a basilica, in which he placed the relics of the martyrs Vitalis and Agricola, whose bodies he had raised in the city of Bologna; for the bodies of the martyrs had been buried among the bodies of the Jews, nor would it have been known to the Christian people, if the holy martyrs had not revealed themselves to the bishop of that church. When they were placed under the altar which had been built in this same basilica, great delight and rejoicing was there on the part of all the faithful and punishment of the demons confessing the merits of the martyrs.

30. Per idem tempus Arbogastes comes aduersum gentem suam, hoc [1] est Francorum, bellum parauit atque pugnando [2] non paruam [3] multitudinem manu fudit, cum residuis uero pacem [4] firmauit. sed cum in conuiuio a regibus gentis suae interrogaretur utrum sciret Ambrosium et respondisset nosse se uirum et diligi ab eo atque frequenter cum illo conuiuari solitum, audiuit: [5] " Ideo uincis, comes, quia ab illo uiro diligeris, qui dicit [6] soli: ' Sta, et stat '." quod ego ideo posui ut cuius famae fuerit uir sanctus etiam apud barbaras gentes legentes [7] agnoscant. nam et [8] nos, referente iuuene quodam Arbogastis admodum religioso, cognouimus, qui tunc interfuit; erat enim in tempore quo haec loquebantur uini [9] minister.

Josu 12-1

31. Profectus itaque sacerdos de [1] Tusciae partibus Mediolanum reuertitur, iam inde egresso Eugenio contra Theodosium; ibique Christiani imperatoris praestolabatur aduentum, securus de Dei potentia quod non traderet credentem [2] in se hominibus iniustis *nec relinqueret* [3] *uirgam peccatorum super sortem iustorum, ne extenderent iusti ad iniquitates manus suas.* promiserat [4] enim Arbogastes tunc comes et Flauianus praefectus Mediolano egredientes, cum uictores reuersi [5] fuissent, stabulum se esse facturos in basilica ecclesiae Mediolanensis atque clericos sub armis probaturos; sed miserandi homines cum daemonibus suis male creduli sunt, et *aperiunt* [6] *os suum in blasphemiam apud Deum,* spem sibi uictoriae ademerunt. causa autem commotionis haec fuit, quia munera [7] imperatoris qui [8] se sacrilegio miscuerat ab ecclesia respuebantur nec [9] orandi illi cum Ecclesia societas tribuebatur. sed Dominus, qui Ecclesiam suam tueri consueuit, *de* [10] *caelo iaculatus est iudicium* atque omnem uictoriam ad religiosum imperatorem transtulit

Psal 124,

Apoc 13, 6

Psal 75, 8

1. aduersus A B D. 4. a] *om.* D. genti D. 5. respondisse D. uerum D. 6. eo] illo A B D. atque] et A B D. frequentur A. cum illo] *om.* D. audiuit] ab ipsis *add.* D. ideo] in de hoc C. 7. comes] omnes C, cum is D. quia] qui C D. 8. ergo C. posuit C. 9. apud] *om.* D. gentes] *om.* B. legentes] *om.* A B D. agnosceretur A B, agnoscerent D. nos] haec *add.* A. referentem C. 10. iuuenem C. quondam C. religiosi A, religiosum C. Arbogastes A. 11. loquebatur A C, agebantur D. 13. sacerdus D. Mediolanium D. 14. in die *corr.* inde D. Theodosium] imperatorem *add.* A C. ibi *editi.* 15. aduentum] *om.* C. 16. quo C. traheret D. in se credentem D. in] *om.* B. 17. relinqueretur D. peccatoris B. nec C. 18. iniquitatem A B, iniquitate D. 19. praefectus] de *add.* C. Mediolanio D. 20. reuertissent C D. basilicae D. 23. apud] ad C. 25. a sacrilegio *corr.* sacrilego D. comiscuerat C. repudiabantur D. 28. imperatorem] principem D.

30. At the same time Count Arbogast prepared war against his people, namely the Franks, and he valiantly routed a no small number in a battle, and with the rest he made peace. But when at a banquet he was asked by the princes of his nation whether he knew Ambrose, and he replied that he knew the man and was loved by him and was wont to dine with him frequently, he heard: "So you conquer, Count, because you are beloved by that man who says to the sun: 'stand and it stands'." And so I have set this down that my readers may know what fame the holy man had even among barbarian peoples. For we also know this on the report of a certain young man of Arbogast, very religious, who was present; for at the time at which they said these things he was cupbearer.

31. And so the bishop having set out from Tuscia returned to Milan, because Eugenius had already departed thence against Theodosius; there he awaited the coming of the Christian emperor, secure through the power of God, because He does not give up those who believe in Him to the unjust, nor *does He let fall the rod of sinners on the lot of the just, that the just may not stretch forth their hands to iniquity.* For Arbogast Count at that time and the Prefect Flavian had promised as they were leaving Milan, that when they should return victorious, they would make a stable in the basilica of the church of Milan and would review the clergy under arms; but when the wretched men become wickedly credulous of their demons and *open their mouths into blasphemy against God,* they deprive themselves of hope of victory. Moreover the cause for their disturbance was this, because the gifts of the emperor, who had involved himself in the sacrilege, were spurned by the Church nor was association with the Church in prayer granted him. But the Lord who is wont to protect His Church *cast His judgment from heaven* and transferred complete victory to the pious emperor

Theodosium. exstincto itaque Eugenio satellitibusque eius, cum scripta [11] acciperet imperatoris, non illi alia cura maior fuit quam ut pro iis intercederet quos reatus [12] inuenerat. obseeratus [13] est primo scriptis [14] imperatorem misso diacono; postea uero quam directus est Ioannes [15] tunc tribunus et notarius, qui nunc praefectus est, ad [16] tuitionem eorum qui ad ecclesiam confugerunt, etiam ipse Aquileiam perrexit precaturus [17] pro eis, quibus facile uenia impetrata est, quia Christianus imperator pronolutus [18] pedibus sacerdotis testabatur meritis et orationibus eius se esse seruatum.

32. Reuertens [1] itaque de urbe Aquileiensi uno die praecessit imperatorem, nec diu [2] clementissimae memoriae Theodosius imperator, susceptis filiis in ecclesia et traditis sacerdoti, in hac luce fuit: post cuius obitum fere triennium superuixit. [3] quo in tempore [4] sancti [5] Nazarii martyris corpus, quod erat in horto positum extra ciuitatem, leuatum ad basilicam [6] Apostolorum quae est in Romana transtulit. uidimus enim in sepulcro, quo iacebat corpus martyris, qui quando [7] sit passus usque in [8] hodiernum scire non possumus, sanguinem martyris ita recentem quasi eodem die fuisset [9] effusus. caput etiam ipsius, quod ab impiis fuerat [10] abscissum, ita integrum atque incorruptum cum capillis capitis atque barba ut nobis uideretur eodem tempore quo leuabatur, lotum atque compositum in sepulcro. et quid mirum, quandoquidem Dominus hoc in Euangelio ante promisit, quod *capillus* [11] *de capite eorum non peribit?* etiam odore tanto repleti sumus ut omnium aromatum uinceret suauitatem. Luke, 21, 18; 12, 7 Matth. 10, 30

33. Quo leuato corpore martyris et in lectica composito, statim

1. Eugenio] *add.* a C, *add.* et A. cum] *om.* C. satellitibusque] que *om.* A. 2. conscripta C. alia] *om.* D. maior cura A B. maiora D. 3. iis] **hiis A B D. renatus C. est] *om.* B. 4. scriptis] ad *add.* B.** diacono] diadico B. 6. institutionem D. confugerant D *editi.* 7. Aquileia D. precatum A. peccandum B. precatus C. eis] reis B. facile] dericis C. 8. ueniam *corr.* uenia D. quia] scire D. quia] ipse *add. editi*, se *add.* B D. 9. ad pedes B D. saluatum se esse C. 10. seruatum] saluatum D. 11. Aquileiense C. 12. ne diu C. 13. traditus B. 14. obitum] episcopus *add.* **A. uixit C. 16. leuatum] est et *add.* D.** Apostolorum ad basilicam B. 17. translatum D. enim] autem *editi.* sepulcro] in *add.* A B D. 18. quando] et *add. D.* sit] *om.* D. hodiernum] diem *add.* A D. 19. eadem **A D. 20. fuisset] abscissus *add.* B. etiam] uero A. fuit A. 21. abscissum] etiam *add.* C. atque] et A. capitis] *om.* B. 22. atque] et B.** uidetur C. quod C. 23. locatum A. 24. hoc] *om.* D *editi.* capillos *corr.* capillus D. 25. eorum] *om.* A. periret A C. etiam modo se D. **tantum C. 27. quo] *om.* C. et] *om.* A. lecticia C.**

Theodosius. And so after Eugenius and his satellites were crushed, when he received letters from the emperor, he had no greater care than to intercede for those whom he found under impeachment. However, sending a deacon, he first besought the emperor by letter; but after John, at that time a tribune and secretary, but who is now a Prefect, had been sent to protect those who took refuge in the church, he himself went to Aquileia to intercede for them. And pardon was easily obtained for them, because the Christian emperor casting himself at the feet of the bishop bore witness that he had been saved by his merits and prayers.

32. And so returning from the city of Aquileia, he arrived one day before the emperor. And the emperor Theodosius of most kind memory, after his sons were received into the Church and entrusted to the bishop, was not long in this life; and after his death Ambrose survived about three years. At this time he raised and transferred the body of St. Nazarius, the martyr, which had been buried in a garden outside the city to the Basilica of the Apostles which is near the Roman Gate. We saw, moreover, in the grave in which the body of the martyr lay—although when he suffered, we cannot learn even to this day—the blood of the martyr as fresh as if it had been shed on that very day. His head also, which had been severed by the wicked, was so whole and uncorrupted with hair and beard that it seemed to us that it had been washed and placed in the grave at the very moment at which it was dug up. And why should this be strange, since the Lord indeed has already promised this in the Gospel, that *a hair from their heads shall not perish?* We were also suffused with such a wondrous odor that it surpassed the sweetness of all perfumes.

33. When this body of the martyr was dug up and laid on a

ad sanctum[1] Celsum martyrem, qui in eodem horto positus est, cum sancto sacerdote—ad[2] orationem—perreximus. nunquam tamen illum antea orasse in eodem loco compertum habemus; sed[3] hoc erat signum reuelati[4] martyris, si sanctus sacerdos ad locum, ad quem nunquam antea fuerat, oratum isset. cognouimus[5] tamen a custodibus loci ipsius, quod a parentibus suis illis traditum sit, non discedere de loco illo per[6] omnem generationem[7] et progeniem[8] eorum eo quod thesauri magni in eodem loco positi essent. et[9] nere magni thesauri, quos non aerugo neque tinea exterminat neque fures effodiant et furantur, quia custos eorum Christus est et locus eorum aula caelestis est, quibus *uiuere*[10] *Christus fuit, et mori lucrum.* translato itaque corpore martyris ad basilicam Apostolorum, ubi pridie sanctorum Apostolorum reliquiae summa cauitum deuotione[11] depositae[12] fuerant, cum tractaret episcopus, quidam de populo repletus spiritu immundo clamare coepit se torqueri ab Ambrosio. at ille conuersus ad eum ait: "Obmutesce, diabole, quia non te torquet Ambrosius sed fides sanctorum et multitudo tua, quoniam illinc nobis ascendere homines unde tu deiectus es; nam Ambrosius nescit irritari." quo dicto, ille qui clamabat obmutuit prostratusque in terram est nec amplius uocem qua obstrepere posset emisit.

Philip. 1, 21

34. Per idem tempus cum consulatus sui tempore imperator[1] Honorius in urbe Mediolanensium Libycarum[2] ferarum exhiberet munus, populo illuc concurrente, data copia est missis militibus tunc ab Stilichone[3] comite hortatu Eusebii[4] praefecti ut Crescomius[5] quidam de[6] ecclesia raperetur; quem confugientem ad altare Domini sanctus episcopus cum clericis qui in tempore aderant,

1. sanctum] *om.* A. 2. sancto] *om.* A. sacerdote sancto B. ad orationem] *om.* D. 3. ante B. abemus D. 4. hoc] *om.* C. reuelandi B. reuelati] corporis *add. editi.* si] *om.* D. 5. antea] *om.* B D. oratum] oraturus accederet *add.* B. isset] *om.* B. 6. tamen] tanta D. a] *om.* D. ipsius] dictum *add.* B. suis illis] *om.* A C, suis *om.* D. 10. exterminet A, exterminat *corr.* exterminet B. neque] nec A B. effodiant A. furentur A. 11. est Christus D. *est om. editi.* 12. itaque] *om.* C. 13. ubi . . . Apostolorum] *om.* C. pridem *editi.* 14. positae C D. debotione *corr.* deuotione D. 16. se] *om.* C. at] sed D. ad eum] ad Deum A B. 17. dixit B. 18. illo D. homines ascendere A B D. 19. eiectus B. ille . . . (l. 20) est] *om.* C. 20. in terra D. est in terram B. est] *om.* A. 21. quam obstrepi C. 22. tempore consulatus sui A. tempore] *om.* C D. 23. Mediolanensi B C D. libicanarum B. 24. illucque B. concurrerent D. est copia A. 25. tunc] *om.* C. hortatus C. Crisconius A. et *corr.* ut D. 27. clericos C.

litter, we immediately proceeded with the holy bishop to the martyr St. Celsus, who was buried in the same garden,—to pray. We have learned, however, that never before had he prayed in that very place; and this was the sign of the discovery of a martyr, namely, if the holy bishop should go to pray to a place at which he had never been before. We know, however, from the custodians of the place, that it was a tradition with them from their parents, not to depart from that place from generation to generation of their people, on this account because great treasures had been buried there. And indeed great treasures they were, which neither rust nor the worm destroys nor thieves dig up and steal, because Christ is their guardian and their habitation is the court of heaven, *for whom it was Christ to live and to die was gain.* And so after the body of the martyr was transposed to the Basilica of the Apostles, where previously the relics of the Holy Apostles had been deposited with the greatest devotion of all, while the bishop was preaching one of the populace filled with an unclean spirit began to cry out that he was tormented by Ambrose. But he turning to him said: "Be silent, devil, because Ambrose does not torment thee, but the faith of the saints and thy envy, because you see men rise to that place whence you have been cast down; for Ambrose knows not how to be puffed up." After these words, he who was crying out became silent and threw himself upon the ground and no longer uttered a sound by which he might cause disturbance.

34. At the same time, when the emperor Honorius in the time of his consulship was giving an exhibition of wild beasts from Libya in the city of Milan, as the people assembled there, permission was then given to the soldiers who had been sent for the purpose by Count Stilicho at the request of Eusebius the Prefect, to take a certain Cresconius from the church; and as he took refuge at the altar of the Lord, the holy bishop with the clergy who were

defendendum [7] circumdedit. sed multitudo militum, quae duces suos habebat de [8] perfidia Arianorum, praeualuit [9] aduersum paucos atque aidato Crescomio exsultantes ad amphitheatrum [10] reuerterunt. Ecclesiae luctum non modicum relinquentes; nam sacerdos prostratus ante altare Domini factum diu fleuit. sed in tempore cum reuertissent et renuntiassent us a quibus fuerant [11] destinati milites, dimissi leopardi [12] saltu celeri ad eundum locum in quo sederant qui de Ecclesia triumphabant, ascendentes grauiter laniatos reliquerunt. quod ubi audit tunc Stilico comes paenitentia motus est ita ut per multos dies satisfaceret sacerdoti et illaesum [13] quidem illum qui ablatus [14] fuerat dimisit; sed quia grauissimorum criminum erat reus et aliter emendari non poterat, ad exsilium destinauit non multo post indulgentia [15] prosequente.

35. Per idem tempus, cum ad palatium pergeret eumque pro loco ollici nostri sequeremur, Theodulo [1] — tunc notario, qui postea summa cum gratia Mutinensem [2] rexit ecclesiam, — eum casu quidam pede esset lapsus atque prostratus iaceret in terra, ridenti factum consecutus sacerdos ait: *Et tu qui stas, uide, ne cadas.* 1 Cor. 10, 12 quo dicto statim is qui alienum lapsum riserat suum doluit.

36. Per idem tempus, Frigitil,[3] quaedam regina Marcomannorum,[4] cum a quodam Christiano uiro qui ad illam forte de [5] Italiae partibus aduenerat referente sibi audiret famam uiri, Christo credidit, cuius illum seruulum recognouerat, missisque muneribus ad ecclesiam per legatos postulauit ut scriptis ipsius qualiter [6] credere deberet informaretur. ad quam ille epistolam fecit praeclaram in modum catechismi,[5] in qua etiam admonuit ut suaderet uiro Romanis pacem seruare; qua accepta epistola mulier suasit uiro ut cum populo suo se Romanis traderet. quae cum aduenisset

2. suos] duos A B D. aduersus A B. 3. reuersi sunt A B. 5. diem C. 6. reuersi essent B. iis] hiis B C D. 7. clerici C. 9. tunc] *om.* A. 11. dimisit *om.* A B C D. 12. taliter C. emendare C. 13. destinaret A B C D. destinaret] et *add.* C. 14. eum] quod C. eumque] quemque C, eumque A. 15. Theodoro A. Theodorum B. Theodoro C. notarium B. 16. ecclesias A. 17. lapsus esset A B D. uidenti A, ridente C, ridentes D. 18. factum] suum *add.* B. 19. quo] quod C. is] his C D. lapsus C. 20. Fridigil C, Fretigil D. quidem C. 21. uero *corr.* uiro D. 23. missisque] Mediolanum *add. editi.* muneribus] placatos *add.* C. 24. per legatos] *om.* C. illius D. praeclaram] *om.* C, praeclara D. 26. ammonet B, admonet C D. suaderetur C. uirum B. 27. epistola] pecunia C. sauset *corr.* suasit D. uirum B. 28. ut] et A C. tradidit A C. uenisset *editi.*

present at the time surrounded him for his defence. But the multitude of soldiers, who had members of the Arian heresy as their leaders, prevailed against the few and carrying Cresconius away in exultation returned to the amphitheatre, leaving no small sorrow to the Church; for the bishop prostrate before the altar of the Lord long bemoaned the deed. But when the soldiers had returned and reported to those by whom they had been sent, the leopards on being let loose leaped with a swift bound to the very place in which they who were triumphing over the Church had taken their seats and left them severely lacerated. Then when Count Stilicho saw this he was moved with repentance so that for many days he made apologies to the bishop and even dismissed unharmed him who had been carried off; but because he was guilty of the most heinous crimes and could not be chastised otherwise, he sent him into exile, although pardon followed not long after.

35. At the same time, as he was going to the palace and we were following him by virtue of our office, when a certain man slipped by chance and lay prostrate on the ground, the bishop turned to Theodulus—at that time a notary, although afterwards he ruled the church of Mutina with the greatest esteem—who was laughing at the mishap, and said: *"And you who stand, see that you do not fall."* When he said this, immediately he who laughed at the fall of another grieved at his own.

36. At the same time, Frigitil, a certain queen of the Marcomanni, when she heard of the fame of the man from the report of a certain Christian who had by chance come to her from the regions of Italy, believed in Christ, whose servant she recognized him to be, and sending gifts to the Church she asked through her envoys that she be informed by his own hand what she should believe. And to her he wrote a remarkable letter in the manner of a catechism, in which he urged her also to persuade her husband to keep peace with the Romans; when the woman received the letter she persuaded her husband to entrust himself and his people to the

Mediolanum, plurimum doluit, quod sanctum sacerdotem ad quem festinauerat minime reperisset; iam enim de[6] hac luce migrauerat.

37. Temporibus uero Gratiani, ut retro redeam, cum ad praetorium Macedonii,[1] tunc magistri[2] officiorum, pro quodam intercedendum[3] perexisset atque ex praecepto supradicti uiri fores inuenisset clausas nec copiam ingrediendi adeptus esset, ait: "Et tu quidem uenies ad ecclesiam, nec clausis ianuis inuenies qua ingrediaris." quod factum est; mortuo Gratiano confugiens etenim Macedonius ad ecclesiam, patentibus ianuis, aditum reperire non poterat.

CAPUT IX.

Virtutes s. Episcopi. eius abstinentia, in rebus diuinis assiduitas, diuitiarum contemptus, misericordia erga alios. charismatum gratia refulget.

38. Ipse autem uir uenerabilis episcopus erat multae abstinentiae[4] et uigiliarum[5] multarum et laborum, cotidiano ieiunio macerans[7] corpus, cui prandendi nunquam consuetudo fuit nisi die sabbati et dominico, uel cum natalitia celeberrimorum martyrum essent. orandi etiam assiduitas magna, die ac nocte; nec[4] operam declinabat scribendi propria manu libros, nisi cum aliqua infirmitate corpus eius attineretur. erat etiam in illo sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum, interueniendi etiam magna assiduitas et constantia. in rebus etiam diuinis implendis fortissimus, in[5] tantum ut quod solitus erat circa[6] baptizandos solus implere quinque postea episcopi tempore quo decessit uix implerent. sollicitus etiam pro pauperibus et captiuis nimium; nam in[7] tempore quo episcopus ordi-

1. Mediolanium D. 2. festinarat *editi.* recepisset A. 3. redeant C. 4. tunc] *om.* D. pro quidam C. intercedendi A. intercedendo B C. intercedendum] gratiam *add.* A. 5. ex] *om.* C. 6. est C. et tu uenies quidem B. 7. nec . . . (l. 9) ecclesiam] *in marg.* A. clausas ianuas C. ianuis] non *add.* A. quam C. 8. mortuo] enim *add. editi.* etenim] *om. editi.* 9. ecclesias A. 10. potuit D. 15. Vir autem ipse *editi.* episcopus] Ambrosius *add. D.* erat] *om. editi.* 16. multarum uigiliarum A B D. et] uel A. et laborum] *om.* B D. 18. sabbato C. et] die *add.* C. dominica D. 19. magna] erat *add.* A, magni C. ac] hac C. opera D. 21. adtenuaretur A C. etiam] enim C. 23. implendi C, *om.* D. fortissimus] labor *add.* A. C. 24. circa baptizandos] *om.* A, solus implere solitus erat A, circa baptizandos *add.* B D, implere solitus erat circa baptizandos quinque C. *solus*] *om.* C. 25. implerent] implere potuerunt D. etiam] nimium *add. editi.* 26. nimium] erat *add.* A.

Romans. When she came to Milan, she grieved very much because she did not find the holy bishop to whom she had hastened; for he had already departed from this life.

37. Now in the time of Gratian, to retrace my steps, when he had come to the residence of Macedonius, at that time the Master of the Offices, to intercede for a certain man and had found the doors closed by the order of the official mentioned above, and obtained no opportunity to enter, he said: "You also indeed will come to the Church, and since the doors have been closed, you will not find whereby you may enter." And this came to pass; for at the death of Gratian, Macedonius on fleeing to a church could not find the entrance although the doors were open.

CHAPTER IX.

The virtues of the holy bishop. His abstinence, his zeal in divine affairs, his contempt for riches, his mercy towards others. He is resplendent with the grace of his blessings.

38. Moreover the venerable bishop himself was a man of great abstinence and many vigils and labors, wearing out his body by daily fasts, whose habit was never to take breakfast except on the day of Sabbath and the Lord's Day, or when the birthdays of the most celebrated martyrs occurred. His constancy in prayer also was great, day and night; he did not shun the work of writing books with his own hand, unless when his body was hindered by some infirmity. There is also in him a solicitude for all the churches, also great and unceasing constancy in intervening among them. He was most steadfast also in fulfilling his religious duties, to such a degree that what he alone had been accustomed to perform as regards those to be baptized, five bishops after the time of his death performed with difficulty. He was exceedingly solicitous too for the poor and the captives; for at the time when he

natus est, aurum omne atque argentum quod habere poterat ecclesiae uel pauperibus contulit. praedia etiam, quae habebat, reseruato usufructuario [1] germanae suae donauit ecclesiae, nihil sibi quod hic [2] suum diceret derelinquens,[3] ut nudus atque expeditus miles Christum Dominum sequeretur: *Qui* [4] *cum diues esset, propter nos pauper factus est, ut nos eius inopia ditaremur.* 2 Cor. 8, 9

39. *Erat* [5] *etiam gaudens cum gaudentibus et flens cum flentibus*, siquidem,[6] quotienscunque illi aliquis ob [7] percipiendam paenitentiam lapsus suos confessus esset, ita flebat ut et illum flere [8] compelleret; uidebatur enim sibi cum tacente tacere; causas [9] autem criminum quas illi confitebatur, nulli nisi Domino soli apud quem intercedebat loquebatur, bonum relinquens exemplum posteris sacerdotibus ut intercessores apud Deum magis [10] sint quam accusatores apud homines. nam et secundum [11] Apostolum circa [12] huiusmodi hominem *confirmanda caritas est* quia ipse sui accusator est nec exspectat accusatorem sed praeuenit [13] ut confitendo [14] suum alleuet ipse delictum ne habeat quod aduersarius criminetur. ideoque [15] Scriptura dicit: *Iustus* [16] *in principio sermonis accusator est sui.* nocem [17] enim eripit aduersario et quasi dentes quosdam paratos ad praedam criminationis infestae peccatorum suorum confessione confringit, dans honorem Deo, *cui* [18] *nuda sunt omnia* et qui [19] nullt ultam magis peccatoris quam mortem. nam et ipsi paenitenti non sufficit sola confessio nisi subsequatur emendatio facti ut paenitens non faciat paenitenda, humiliet [20] etiam animam suam, sicut Dauid sanctus qui, postquam audiuit a propheta: *Dimissum* [21] *est peccatum tuum*, humilior factus est in emendatione peccati ita ut *cinerem* [22] *sicut panem manducaret et potum suum cum fletu misceret.* Rom. 12, 15 2 Cor. 2, 8 Prov. 18, 17 Hebr. 4, 13 Ezech. 18, 32 2 Kings 12, 13 Psal. 101, 10

1. quae B. 2. praediam C. etiam] autem D. 3. reseruat *corr.* reseruauit sibi D. usufructu B C. usufructus D. usufructuario A. ecclesiae] **suae *add.* C. 4. dereliquit D. 7. etiam] enim C. 8. ob] ad B. 9.** lapsum suum B. et] etiam A B. 10. enim] etiam C. 11. quas] quae *editi.* confitebantur A C. 13. magis apud Deum sint A B. sint magis C. sunt D. apud accusatores C. 16. spectat D. 17. alleuet] abluat A. absoluat B, abluit D. nec A C. aduersarios A. 18. iustus sui accusator est in primos dio sermonis D. accusator est sui] *om.* B. 19. enim] quidem D. aduersari D. dentes quasi B. 20. suorum] in *add.* A. 21. nuda] nota A B D. 22. qui] amat *add.* D. magis] *om.* D. peccatorum D. 23. paenitens] paenitentem D. paenitenda non faciat A B. 24. non . . . etiam] *om.* D. humiliet . . . suam] *om.* B. 25. sanctus Dauid C. 28. cum] *in marg.* B. fleto *corr.* fletu D. misceret] temperaret D.

was consecrated bishop, all the gold and silver which he could have kept he gave to the church or to the poor. The estates also which he had, having reserved their usufruct for his sister, he gave to the church, leaving nothing for himself which he could call his own in this world, that like a lightly clad and unencumbered soldier he might follow Christ the Lord: *Who, being rich, became poor for our sakes; that through His poverty we might be rich.*

39. *He rejoiced also with those that rejoiced and wept with those that wept,* since indeed, as often as anyone confessed his sins to him to receive a penance, he so wept that he compelled that one to weep; he seemed to himself to be prostrate with the prostrate; cases of crime, however, which anyone confessed to him, he told to no one except to the Lord alone with whom he pleaded, leaving a good example to future bishops that they should be intercessors before God rather than accusers before men. For according to the Apostle also, *charity is to be confirmed toward a man of this kind,* because he himself is his own accuser and does not wait for an accuser but anticipates him, that he himself may lighten his sin by confession lest he have something which his adversary may charge against him. And therefore, Scripture says: "*The just is first accuser of his own word.*" For he takes away the words of his adversary and he crushes as it were, by the confession of his sins, the teeth prepared for the prey of accursed calumny, giving honor to God, to whom all things are open, and who wishes the life rather than the death of the sinner. For confession alone is not sufficient for him who repents, unless a correction in deed follows, so that on repenting he may not perform deeds that must needs be repented, and may also humble his soul like holy David, who after he heard from the prophet: "*Your sin is pardoned,*" in the correction of his sin became more humble so that *he did eat ashes like bread and mingled his drink with weeping.*

40. Flebat etiam amarissime [1] quotienscunque forte nuntiatum [2] illi fuerat de cuiuscunque sancti obitu sacerdotis,—in [3] tantum ut nos illum consolari niteremur, ignorantes pium affectum uiri nec [4] qua ratione ita fleret intelligentes. quibus ille huiusmodi responsum reddebat: non se flere quia recesserat qui fuerat [5] mortuus nuntiatus, sed quia se praecesserat, uel [6] quia difficile esset inuenire uirum qui summo sacerdotio dignus haberetur. ipse autem de sua morte ante praedixit [7] quod usque pascha nobiscum futurus esset; quod quidem meruit, Dominum obsecrando,[8] quo maturius hinc liberaretur.

41. Ingemiscebat enim uehementer cum uideret radicem omnium malorum auaritiam pullulare,[1] quae neque copia neque inopia minui potest, magis magisque increscere [2] in hominibus et maxime in iis, qui in potestatibus erant constituti, ita ut interueniendi illi apud illos grauissimus labor esset, quia omnia pretio distrahebantur. quae res primo omne malum inuexit Italiae; et exinde omnia uerguntur in peius. et quod dicam, si in huiusmodi personis ita rabiem suam exercet, qui solent aut [3] filiorum aut propinquorum causas praetendere: *Ad* [4] *excusandas excusationes in peccatis*: Psal. 140, 4 quandoquidem [5] plerosque ceperit etiam caelibes, sacerdotes uel [6] leuitas,[7] quibus [8] portio Deus est ut etiam ipsi illam appetant. et Deutr. 18, 2 uae nobis miseris! quia nec [9] fine [10] mundi prouocamur, ut tam graui iugo seruitutis liberari uelimus, quod demergit [11] usque ad *profundum* [12] *inferni*, ut *faciamus* [13] *nobis amicos de mammona* Isaias 7, 11 Luke 16, 9 *iniquitatis, qui nos recipiant in aeterna tabernacula.* at tamen *beatus* [14] ille *qui* quandoque conuersus,[15] diruptis uinculis atque Psal. 136, 9 proiecto iugo huiusmodi dominationis, *tenebit et allidet paruulos eius ad petram*, hoc [16] est, omnes intentiones eius allidet *ad Chris-*

1. etiam] enim A C. 2. fuerat illi B. illi] *om.* D. fuisset D. cuiuscunque] forte *add.* B. obitum C D. 3. uideremur A B C D. neque A. 4. flebat D. 5. se] *om.* B. quia] qui D. 6. se] *om. editi.* quia (2)] quiae D. est A. inueniri A B D. 7. uirum . . . sua] *om.* D. habeatur A B. 8. usque] ad *add. editi.* 9. obseruat *corr.* obseruans D. hinc] *om.* B D. 11. cum] quod D. omnium radicem A. 12. auaritia C. pullulare] *om.* B D, pollulare C. copiam *corr.* copia D. 13. potest] et *add.* A. magisque] que *om.* A. 14. iis] hiis A B C D. quae C. illi] *om.* D. esse C. 16. omne malum primo A B D. et] *om.* D. exinde] inde C. 17. uergunt B. si] *om.* C. huiuscemodi D. 19. causa D. praetenderet D. 20. cepit A, ceperint B, coeperi C. 21. est Deus B. illam etiam ipsi A, illum *etc.* B, illa *etc.* D. 22. nobis] mihi A B C D. misero A B C D. qui B D. 23. ualeamus B. usque] *om. editi.* 24. iniquo mammona *editi.* 26. disruptes B C. 27. proiectu C. dominationes C. allidit A. 28. eius] *om.* C.

40. He also wept most bitterly as often as by chance announcement was made to him of the death of any holy bishop—so much so that we would strive to console him, ignorant of the pious affection of the man and not knowing for what reason he so wept. And to us he would give a reply of this nature: that he did not weep because the one who had been announced as dead had departed, but because he had gone before him and because it was difficult to find a man who might be regarded as worthy of the high dignity of the episcopacy. He himself, moveover, spoke before hand of his death, saying that he would be with us until Easter—and this indeed he merited through his praying to the Lord, that he might be freed earlier from this life.

41. For he lamented vehemently whenever he saw that avarice was flourishing, the root of all evil, which can be diminished neither by abundance nor want, and was increasing more and more among men, especially among those who had been placed in authority, so that it was a most difficult task for him to prevent it among these, because all things were being torn asunder for gain. And this thing first brought all evil to Italy; and from it all things are inclined toward the worse. And what shall I say, if it works its madness thus in persons of this kind, who are wont to offer as pretexts children or relatives: *To make excuses in sins;* since indeed it has seized even many celibates, bishops, and deacons, whose portion is God, so that they themselves practice it. And woe to us in our wretchedness! because not even at the end of the world are we summoned, although we wish to be freed from so heavy a yoke of slavery which sinks even into the *depths of hell,* that *we may make for ourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity, that they may receive us into everlasting dwellings.* And yet *blessed is he who* when on being converted, having broken the chains and having flung down the yoke of such domination, *shall take and dash his little ones against the rock,* that is, shall dash all his thoughts

tum,[17] qui secundum[18] Apostolum *petra est,* quae omnes ad se allisos interimit, ipsa inuiolabilis[19] manens nec reum faciens eum qui ad se alliserit nequissimi uteri deteriores partus sed innocentem, ita ut securus possit dicere:[20] *Portio*[21] *mea Dominus;* quia cui mihi in saeculo est illi uere portio[22] est Christus et qui contempserit parua multa percipiet, insuper[23] *et*[24] *uitam aeternam possidebit.* 1 Cor. 10, 4 Psal. 118, 57 Matth. 19, 29

42. Ante paucos uero dies quam lectulo[1] detineretur, cum quadragesimum tertium psalmum dictaret, me excipiente et uidente, subito in modum scuti breuis ignis caput eius cooperuit atque paulatim per os ipsius[2] tamquam in domum habitator ingressus est, post quod facta est facies eius uelut nix postea uero reuersus est multus eius ad speciem suam. quod cum fieret, stupore percussus obrigui nec potui scribere quae ab illo dicebantur, nisi postaquam uisio ipsa transiit; dicebat enim in[3] tempore testimonium Scripturae diuinae, quod ego optime retinebam.[4] nam scribendi[5] uel[6] dictandi ipso die finem fecit, siquidem ipsum[7] psalmum explere non potuit. ego uero id quod uisum[8] a me fuerat honorabili[9] uiro Casto[10] diacono, sub[11] cuius cura degebam, statim retuli; at ille repletus gratia Dei Spiritus Sancti aduentum me in illo uidisse edocuit lectione Actuum Apostolorum.

43. Superioribus[1] autem diebus cum Stiliconis tunc comitis seruus qui daemonio laborauerat in Ambrosiana basilica iam sanus maneret, commendatus[2] a domino suo ferebatur[3] enim,— quod libenter ab eodem haberetur -facere falsas epistolas tribunatus, in[4] tantum ut tenerentur homines, qui ad ministrandum pergebant; sed ubi ad personam serui sui peruenit comes Stilico, ipse

1. qui] quae D. 2. intemit C, interemit D. 3. alisus fuerit D. deteriorim C, deterioris D. partis D. sed . . . (l. 5) est] C *in ras.* 5. illius B. uera B. Christus est A B D. 6. parua] pauca A C. 7. possidebit aeternam B. 8. uero] namque B. ueros *corr.* uero D. quam] in *add.* D. 9. me] et *add. editi.* 10. cooperuit caput A B. eius] *om.* A B. 11. os] hos C. in domo C. 12. postquem B, postquam D. factum C. uelut] tanquam A B D. nix] et *add. editi.* uero] *om. editi.* 13. ei ab specie sua C. percussus D. 14. dictabantur D. 15. ipsa] illa C. transierit C. in] eo *add. editi.* tempore] illo *add.* A. 17. ipse D. sed quidem C. 18. id] *om.* D. a me uisum A B. 19. fuerat] narraui *add.* D. 20. statim retuli] *om.* D. 21. docuit A B D. lectionem D. 22. cum] *om.* A B. tunc] *om.* C. comitis tunc D. 23. laborauerat] cum *add.* A B C D. 24. manere D. enim] *om.* A B. 25. quo D. ambiretur B, aberetur D. faceretque *editi,* faceret D. 26. ab] *om.* A. pergebat C. 27. Stilico comes A B. **noluit in eum uindicare *editi.* ipse] *om.* D.**

against *Christ,* who according to the Apostle *is the rock,* which destroys all dashed against it, itself remaining unharmed and not making him guilty who has dashed against it the meaner offspring of his worthless womb but innocent, so that he may confidently say: *"The Lord is my portion";* because to whom there is nothing in the world, to him truly Christ is the portion, and he who shall despise few things will receive many, and besides *shall even possess life eternal.*

42. But a few days before he was confined to his bed, while he was dictating the 43rd Psalm and I was taking it down and observing him, suddenly a fire in the shape of a small shield covered his head, and gradually it entered through his mouth like a householder into his home, after which his face became like snow, but afterwards his countenance returned to its normal appearance. When this happened, being struck with amazement I became stiff and was unable to write down what was being spoken by him until after the vision itself had passed; for he at that time was giving the testimony of the divine Scriptures, which I remembered very well. For he put an end to writing and dictating on that day, since he could not finish that psalm. I, however, immediately related that which had been seen by me to the honorable man Castus, the deacon, under whose care I lived; and he, filled with the grace of God, explained from his reading of the Acts of the Apostles that I had seen in the bishop the coming of the Holy Spirit.

43. Sometime before, moreover, when a servant of the then Count Stilicho, who had been troubled with a demon, was abiding, already cured in the Ambrosian Basilica at the recommendation of his master, he was reported indeed—and this was freely believed by his master—to be forging letters of the tribunate, so that men who were hastening to their duties were detained; but when Stilicho dis-

in seruo noluit uindicare; homines etiam, qui decepti [5] fuerant, interuentu sacerdotis dimisit, de ipso uero seruo sacerdoti questus est. quem uir sanctus, cum de [6] basilica Ambrosiana egrederetur, requiri [7] fecit atque ad se perduci. quem cum interrogasset et deprehendisset auctorem tanti flagitii, ait: "Oportet illum tradi satanae in interitum carnis, ne talia aliquis in posterum audeat admittere." quem eodem momento cum adhuc sermo esset in ore sacerdotis, spiritus immundus arreptum discerpere coepit; quo uiso non minimo timore repleti sumus et admiratione. multos etiam diebus illis, imponente illo manus et imperante, ab spiritibus immundis uidimus esse purgatos.

44. Per idem tempus Nicentius [1] quidam ex tribuno et notario, qui ita pedum dolore tenebatur ut raro in publico uideretur, cum ad altare accessisset ut sacramenta perciperet calcatusque [2] casu a sacerdote exclamasset, audiuit: [3] "Vade, et amodo [4] saluus [5] eris." nec se amplius doluisse [6] pedes tempore quo sanctus sacerdos de [7] hac luce migrauit lacrimis testabatur.

CAPUT X.

Morbo corripitur et s. uiatico refectus moritur. exsequiae ingenti omnium concursu celebrantur. daemones sanctitatis illius testes. pluribus post mortem apparet.

45. Sed post dies hos, ordinato sacerdote ecclesiae Ticinensi,[1] incidit in infirmitatem, qua cum plurimis [2] diebus detineretur in lectulo, comes Stilico dixisse [3] fertur quod tanto uiro recedente [4] de corpore interitus immineret Italiae. unde [5] conuocatis ad se nobilibus uiris illius ciuitatis, quos diligi a sancto sacerdote cognouerat, partim interminatus [6] est illis, partim blando sermone persuasit, ut pergerent ad sanctum sacerdotem suaderentque illi ut

1. seruo] suo *add.* B. etiam] uero D. 2. seruo] *om.* D. 3. basilica] ecclesia C D. 4. quae C. 6. aliquis] *om.* B D. in] *om.* C. 8. sacerdotis] sancti *add.* A. 10. illis] ipsis A C. ipsis *corr.* illis D. illo] illis A. 12. extribunus et notarius *editi.* 13. ita] tanto A. 14. qui ita] quidam C. 15. sacerdote] Ambrosio *add.* A. et *add.* C. clamare C. audiuimus C. 16. pedes] testabatur *add.* C. sanctus] *om.* A. 22. hos] *om.* C. Ticinensi ecclesiae B. 23. quia D. plurimis diebus cum detineretur A B D. 25. interius C. 26. nobilissimus A B. illis A. ciuitatibus A. 28. ad sanctum uirum pergerent A, ad sanctum sacerdotem pergerent B. suaderentque] que *om.* C.

covered the character of his servant he did not wish to punish him, and the men who had been deceived, he dismissed at the intervention of the bishop. But to the latter he made complaint of this servant. And the holy man caused him to be sought as he was going out of the Ambrosian Basilica and brought to him. And when he questioned him and discovered him as the author of so great a crime, he said: "He should be given over to Satan for the destruction of his body lest someone in the future should dare commit such deeds." And at the same moment, when the words were still in the mouth of the bishop, the unclean spirit seized him and began to tear him asunder; and at the sight of this we were filled with no small fear and wonder. In these days also, by the imposition of his hands and by his bidding, we saw many cleansed of unclean spirits.

44. At the same time when a certain Nicentius an extribune and notary, so crippled by pain in his feet that he was rarely seen in public, approached the altar to receive the sacraments, and on being stepped upon accidently by the bishop cried out, he heard the following words: "Go, and henceforth you will be well." That he was no longer troubled with his feet, he testified with tears at the time when the holy bishop departed from this life.

CHAPTER X.

He is seized with sickness and, refreshed with the Holy Viaticum, dies. The funeral rites are celebrated by a great gathering of all. Demons are witnesses to his holiness. He appears to many after death.

45. But after these days, when a bishop was ordained for the church of Ticinum, he fell ill and, while he was being confined to his bed for many days by this illness, Count Stilicho is reported to have said that with the departure of so great a man from this life ruin would threaten Italy. Therefore after calling together into his presence the nobles of the city whom he knew were beloved by the bishop, partly with threats and partly with soft words persuaded them to go to the holy bishop and induce him to seek

sibi uiuendi [2] poteret a Domino commeatum. quod ille ubi ab illis audiuit, respondit: [3] " Non ita inter nos uixi ut pudeat me uiuere nec timeo [4] mori, quia Dominum bonum habemus."

46. Per idem tempus cum in [5] extrema parte porticus, in qua iacebat, in [6] suo positi [7] Castus, Polemius,[8] Venerius [9] et Felix [10] tunc diaconi sacram tractarent uocem ita pressa, ut uix inuicem [11] se audirent, quis post obitum illius episcopus ordinandus esset, atque eum de nomine sancti loquerentur Simpliciani,[12] tamquam interesset tractatui,—cum longe positus ab ipsis [13] maneret,—approbans exclamauit [14] tertio: [15] " Senex sed bonus." erat enim Simpliciano nouo [16] maturus. qua uoce audita, expauescentes fugerunt; dehinc [17] tamen eo, non alius illi successit in sacerdotium nisi is quem ille bonum senem tria [18] uoce signauerat.[19]. cui Simpliciano Venerius, quem supra memorauimus, successor fuit. Felix uero nunc usque Bononiensem regit ecclesiam. Castus autem uel [20] Polemius nutriti ab Ambrosio bonae arboris boni fructus in ecclesia Mediolanensi diaconi funguntur officio.

47. In eodem tamen loco, in quo iacebat, sicut referente sancto Basilio [1] episcopo Laudicensi [2] ecclesiae qui ab eodem audierat, didicimus, cum esset una cum supradicto sacerdote, uiderat Dominum. Iesum aduenisse ad se et arridentem sibi. nec multos post dies notus filiarus est. sed eodem tempore quo a nobis migrauit ad Dominum, ab hora circiter undecima diei usque [3] ad illam horam qua emisit [4] spiritum, expansis [5] manibus in modum crucis orauit. nos uero labia illius moueri uidebamus, uocem autem non audiebamus. Honoratus [6] etiam sacerdos ecclesiae [7] Vercellis, cum in superiora domus se ad quiescendum composuisset, tertio [8] uocem uocantis se audiuit dicentisque sibi: " Surge, festina, quia modo [9] est recessurus." qui descendens obtulit sancto Domini [10] corpus,

2. audiuit ab illis A B. potead *corr.* pudeat D. 3. quia] quoniam C. bonum Dominum A B D. 5. iacebant B. 6. diacones A B. diaconi *corr.* diacones D. supra C. repressi C. ita pressa uoce D. se inuicem *editi.* 7. qui C D. 9. tractauit D. positus] esset *add.* B. 10. exclamabat A. enim] *om.* B. 11. fuerunt B. 12. illic C. sacerdotio C. 13 semen C. 14 [illegible] *corr.* memorauimus D. 15. reget C. uel] et *editi.* et *corr.* uel D. 17. diacones *corr.* diaconii D. 18. namque *corr.* tamen D. 21 uocesse B. 22. nobis] *om.* C. a nobis] *om. editi.* 24. horam] in *add. editi.* 25. autem] eius *add.* A B D. tamen *corr.* autem D. 26. Vercellensis A B C, *add.* qui D. 27. superioribus *editi.* domus] *om.* D. ad quiescendum] quietem C D. tertia C. uocantis se uocem B. 28. se] *om.* A. 29. sanctum B.

of the Lord the privilege of a longer period of life for himself. When he heard this from them he answered: "I have not so lived among you that I am ashamed to live nor do I fear to die, because we have a good Lord!"

46. At the same time when Castus, Polemius, Venerius, and Felix, then deacons, were together in the farthest part of the portico in which he lay, and were conversing among themselves in such a low tone that they could scarcely hear each other, as to who should be consecrated bishop after his death, and when they spoke of the name of Saint Simplicianus, he as if taking part in the conversation—although he lay placed far from them—exclaimed thrice in approbation: "Old but good." For Simplicianus was ripe in years. When they heard this voice, they fled greatly terrified; but when he died, no other succeeded him in the episcopacy than he whom he had designated three times as *good but old*. And to this Simplicianus, Venerius was the successor, whom we have mentioned above, while Felix to this day rules the Church of Bonona. And Castus and Polemius, however, nourished by Ambrose, the good fruits of a good tree, are performing the duties of the diaconate in the church of Milan.

47. In the same place, however, in which he lay, as we have learned from the report of St. Bassianus, the Bishop of the Church of Lodi, who had heard it from the Saint himself, when he was praying together with the above mentioned bishop he saw the Lord Jesus advance to him and smiling upon him. And not many days after he was taken from us. But at the very time when he departed from us to the Lord, from about the eleventh hour of the day until the hour in which he breathed forth his spirit, he prayed with his arms extended in the form of a cross. We indeed saw his lips move but his voice we did not hear. Honoratus also, the bishop of the Church of Vercelli, when he had lain down to rest in the upper part of the house, heard a voice calling him three times and saying to him: "Arise, hasten, because now he is about to depart." And he going down offered the Saint the

quo accepto ubi glutiuit,[11] emisit spiritum, bonum uiaticum secum ferens ut in [12] uirtute escae anima refectior [13] angelorum nunc consortio,[14] quorum uita uixit in terris, et Eliae societate laetetur, quia ut Elias nunquam regibus uel ullis potestatibus ita nec iste [15] pro **Dei timore loqui ueritus est.**

48. Atque inde ad ecclesiam maiorem anteluсana hora, qua defunctus [1] est, corpus ipsius portatum est ibique eadem fuit nocte qua uigilauimus in pascha; quem plurimi infantes baptizati cum a fonte [2] uenirent uiderunt, ita ut aliqui sedentem in cathedra [3] in tribunali [4] dicerent, alii uero ambulantem suis parentibus digito ostenderent, sed illi uidentes uidere non poterant quia mundatos [5] oculos non habebant; plurimi autem stellam supra corpus eius se uidisse narrabant. sed lucescente die dominico, cum corpus ipsius peractis sacramentis diuinis de [6] ecclesia leuaretur portandum ad basilicam Ambrosianam in qua positus est, ita ibi daemonum turba clamabat se ab illo torqueri ut ciulatus eorum ferri non possent. quae gratia sacerdotis non solum in illo loco uerum etiam in plurimis prouinciis usque [7] in hodiernum manet. iactabant etiam turbae uirorum ac mulierum oraria [8] uel semicinctia [9] sua ut corpus sancti aliquatenus [10] ab ipsis contingeretur. erat enim exsequiarum [11] turba innumerabilis: totius [12] dignitatis totiusque [13] sexus omniumque paene aetatum non solum Christianorum sed etiam Iudaeorum et paganorum; maiore tamen gratia ordo praecedebat **eorum qui fuerant [14] baptizati.**

49. Eadem uero qua obiit [1] die, (sicut textus [2] epistolae loquitur quae a successore eius uenerabili uiro Simpliciano suscepta [3]

1. glutiunt C. secum] *om.* B. 2. escae] illius *add.* A. animae esset refectio B. 3. quorum consortio B. uita] *om.* D. laetatur in caelis B. 4. ita et B C D. 5. ueritus] non *add.* B D. 6. ecclesia maiore D. anteluсanam horam B. hora] in *add.* A. 7. fuit eadem nocte A. 8. qua uigilauimus] *om.* A. uigilabimus *corr.* uigilauimus D. quia C. que C. 9. de forte D. cathedram D. 10. in] *om.* A. ambulantem] ascendentem A B D. ascendente C. digito] *om.* A D. 11. ostenderent] dinitrarent A. uidentes] *om.* A. quia] *add.* tam A D. tamen B. mundos A B D. 12. super D. sed] *om.* D. 13. uidere A B D. dominica A D. ipsius] illius C. 14. superactis D. 15. basilicam] ecclesiam B. turbae B. 16. clamabant B. ut] et *add.* A B. illorum A D. ferre C. possit C D. posset A. 17. gratias C. 19. turba C. ac] hac D. 20. sanctum B. erant B. 21. turbae innumerabiles B. dignitas C. 23. maiorem C. gratiam C. etiam Iudaeorum et] *om.* B. 25. uero] tamen A B D. *om.* C. qua] quam C. die qua obiit B. diem C. epistolae] ipsius *add.* D. 26. decessore B D. **eius] ipsius A B D.**

Body of the Lord and when he took and swallowed it he breathed forth his spirit, bearing with him a good viaticum so that his soul refreshed by virtue of this food now rejoices in the company of the angels, according to whose life he had lived on earth, and in the society of Elias, because just as Elias never feared to speak to kings or any powers, so neither did he for fear of God.

48. And then at the hour before daybreak in which he died, his body was carried to the greater church and it was there on the same night in which we kept the vigil of Easter; and many baptized infants as they were coming from the font saw him, so that some said he was sitting on the throne in the sanctuary, while others pointed him out with their fingers to their parents as walking, but the latter, on looking, were unable to see him, because they did not possess clean eyes; and many related, moreover, that they had seen a star over his body. But on Sunday at daybreak when, after the sacred rites had been performed, his body was being taken away from the church to be carried to the Ambrosian Basilica, in which it was placed, thereupon a crowd of demons so cried out that they were being tormented by him that their wailing could not be endured. And this grace of the bishop remains even to the present day not only in that place, but also in great many provinces. Crowds of men and women also threw their handkerchiefs or girdles that the body of the Saint might in some way be touched by them. For the crowd at the obsequies was numberless, of every rank and of every sex and almost all ages, not only of Christians but also of Jews and pagans; yet the ranks of those who had been baptized led the way because of their greater favor.

49. But on the very day on which he died (as the text of the letter says, which was received by his successor, the venerable man

est, de[1] partibus orientis ad ipsum tamquam adhuc nobiscum uiuentem directa,[2] quae nunc usque Mediolani habetur in monasterio[3]), quibusdam uiris sanctis apparuit, orans cum illis et imponens illis manus; habet enim diem epistola quae directa est,[4] qua lecta inuenimus diem esse quo ille defunctus[5] est.

50. Intra Tusciam etiam in ciuitate Florentina, ubi nunc uir sanctus Zenobius[6] episcopus est, qua pronuntiauerat se petentibus illis illos saepius uisitaturum, frequenter ad altare quod est in basilica Ambrosiana quae ibidem ab ipso constituta est uisum orare ipso sancto uiro sacerdote Zenobio referente didicimus. in eadem etiam domo in qua decumbens Eugenium mouit, tempore quo Radagaisus[7] supradictam ciuitatem obsidebat, cum iam de[8] se penitus desperassent uiri ciuitatis ipsius, per[9] uisum cuidam apparuit et promisit alio die salutem illis affuturam, quo referente, ciuium animi sunt erecti; nam altero die, aduenientе Stilicone tunc comite cum exercitu, facta est de hostibus uictoria. haec Pansophia religiosa femina matre pueri Pansophii referente cognouimus.

51. Masezeli[1] etiam desperanti[2] de salute sua uel[3] exercitus, quem ducebat contra Gildonem,[4] baculum tenens manu in uisu noctis[5] apparuit; atque cum pronolueretur ad pedes sancti uiri Masezel, percutiens in terram senex baculo[6] quo regebatur tertio[7] (hac enim illi specie apparuerat) ait: "Hic,[8] hic, hic," signans locum dedituque intellectum uiro, quem uisitatione[9] dignum fuerat[10] arbitratus, ut agnosceret se in ipso loco in quo sanctum Domini uiderat sacerdotem die[11] tertia uictoriam adepturum; atque ita

1. est] *om.* D. uiuentem nobiscum D. uiuente C. 2. directa] est *add.* D. quae] qui D. usque] *in marg.* B. 3. cuiusdam C D. sanctis uiris *editi*. 4. abet D. epistola diem B. diem] de D. quae] qua B. 5. quod qua D. inuenimus] illum *add. editi*. 6. etiam] *om.* C. ciuitatem Florentinam C. Florentina ciuitate D. 7. Zenobius] nomine *add.* A C. se] *om. editi*. petentibus illis illos] *om.* D. 8. illos] eos *editi*, se *add. editi*. ad altare quod est] *om.* B. altarem *corr.* altare D. 9. uisum] est *add.* B D. uirum C. orare] a *add.* B. hoc ab *add.* D. ipso] *om.* B. 10. uiro] *om.* D. Zenobio referente] *om.* D. 11. misit C. 12. superdictam D. Radagausus B. iam] etiam B. 13. desperarent C. ipsius] *om.* C. 14. illis] illil C. affuturum B. 15. erecti] recreati B. aduenientem Stiliconem C. tunc] *om.* B D. comitem C. 16. cum exercitu] *om.* D. hoste C. Pansophiam C. religiosam feminam matrem C. 17. referentem C. cognouimus] didicimus B. 18. desperante C. 19. ducebat A C. uisum C. 20. noctis . . . uiri] *om.* D. atque] ad quem B. uiri sancti B. 21. in] *om. editi*. terra C. regebant C. tertio] in *add.* D. 22. haec C. apparuerat] et *add.* C. hic, hic] *om.* D. 24. se] *om.* A C. in (1)] *om.* B. 25. uictoriam] se *add.* A, uictoria C.

Simplicianus, sent from the East to Ambrose himself as if still living with us, which letter even to this day is preserved in a monastery at Milan), he appeared to certain holy men, praying with them and placing his hands upon them; for the letter which was sent has the date, and when we read this letter we found that it was the day on which he died.

50. In Tuscia also, in the district of Florence, where now the holy man Zenobius is bishop, we have learned on the report of the holy bishop Zenobius himself that Ambrose, because he had promised those who besought him that he would visit them often, was frequently seen praying at the altar, that is in the Ambrosian basilica which was built there by himself. In the same house also in which he abode when avoiding Eugenius at the time when Radagaisus was besieging the above mentioned city, when already the men of this city utterly despaired of themselves, he appeared in a vision to a certain man and promised that deliverance would come to them on the next day. When the man reported this, the courage of the citizens was raised; for on the next day, on the arrival of Stilicho, then Count, with an army, a victory over the enemy was gained. These things we know on the authority of Pansophia, a religious woman, the mother of the boy Pansophius.

51. To Mascezel also, when in despair of his own safety and that of his army, which he was leading against Gildo, he appeared in a vision at night holding a staff in his hand; and when Mascezel threw himself at the feet of the holy man, striking the earth with the staff by which he was wont to rule, the old man—for in this guise he had appeared to him—said three times: "Here, here, here" marking a place and gave intelligence to the man, whom he had thought worthy of his visitation so that he should know, that in the very spot in which he has seen the holy bishop of the Lord, he would obtain victory on the third day; and so he confidently began the war

securus bellum inchoauit et consummauit.[12] nos tamen ea Mediolani positi ipso Mascezele referente cognouimus; nam et in hac prouincia, in qua nunc positi[13] scribimus, plurimis hoc ipsum retulit sacerdotibus, quibus etiam referentibus securius nobis cognita huic libro adiungere arbitrati sumus.

52. Sisinnii[1] etiam et Alexandri martyrum, qui nostris temporibus, hoc[2] est, post obitum sancti Ambrosii in Anauniae[3] partibus persequentibus[4] gentilibus[5] uiris martyrii coronam adepti sunt, cum reliquias Mediolani summa cum deuotione susciperemus,[6] adueniente quodam caeco et referente cognouimus, qui eodem die tacto loculo[7] in quo sanctorum reliquiae portabantur, lumen recepit eo quod per[8] uisum noctis uidisset nauem appropinquantem litori, in qua erat multitudo albatorum uirorum; quibus descendentibus ad terram, cum unum de[9] turba precaretur ut sciret qui essent uiri, audierit Ambrosium eiusque consortes. quo audito nomine cum deprecaretur ut lumen reciperet, audiuit[10] ab eo: "Perge Mediolanum et occurre fratribus meis, qui illo uenturi sunt, (designans diem) et recipies lumen." erat enim uir ut ipse asserebat de[11] litore Dalmatino nec se ante uenisse in ciuitatem asserebat priusquam recto itinere reliquiis sanctorum occurrisset, nondum uidens; sed tacto loculo[12] uidere coepisse.

CAPUT XI.

Deus memoriam s. Episcopi aduersus detrahentes tuetur. exhortatio ad eius imitationem. auctoris epilogus.

53. His itaque decursis non arbitror graue uideri, si paululum promissi nostri metas excesserimus, ut Domini dictum quod per os

1. bellum] et *add.* A C. inuocauit C. tamen] eo tempore *add.* A. ea] *om.* A. eam C. Mediolano B C, Mediolanium D. 2. positi] haec *add.* A. referentem C. et] *om.* A. hac] anc C. 3. prouinciam C. positi] haec *add. editi.* describimus C. ipsud D. 4. securius] ante *add.* C, haec *add. editi* nobis] ante *add.* A B D. 5. arbitrati sumus adiungere A B. 6. etiam] martyris *add.* D. 7. Anagnie B D. 8. prosequentibus C. gentilibus] *om.* D, gentibus A. corona A C, coronas B. 9. reliquias] ipsorum *add.* D. Mediolanensi C. cum summa D. reciperemus A. susceperunt C. 10. aduenientem C. quendam C. caecum C. referentem C. cognouimus] didicimus A B D. die] *om.* C. 12. eo] *om. editi.* per] *om.* D. nauim B. adpropinquare C. 13. in quo D. uirorum ablatorum A. uirorum] *om.* C. 14. terra C. cum unum] comunum C. interrogaret A, deprecaretur B D. 15. essent] ii *add. editi.* audierat C. consortes] in *add.* A. 16. audierit A C D. 18. recipias C. 19. disserabat C. uenisse ante A B. 20. priusquam] ipsius D. recte C. 21. tanto *corr.* tacto D. coepisset D. 25. ita A. decursis] *in marg.* A. uidere C. 26. promissionis A B. nostrae B.

and brought it to a close. We, however, while at Milan, learned this on the report of Mascezel himself; for in this province also, in which we now live and write, he recounted this very thing to many bishops on whose authority also we thought it safer to add to this book what had been learned by ourself.

52. Also, when at Milan we were receiving with the highest devotion the remains of the Martyrs Sisinius and Alexander, who within our own time, that is after the death of Saint Ambrose, obtained the crown of martyrdom during the pagan persecutions in the regions of Anauni, we learned, on the report of a certain blind man who on the same day by touching the casket in which the remains of the saints were carried received sight, that in a vision at night he had seen a ship approaching a shore in which there was a multitude of men clothed in white, and that, when as they were disembarking on the shore he begged one of the crowd to know who these men were, he learned that they were Ambrose and his companions. And when at the sound of his name he prayed that he might receive light, he heard from him: "Go to Milan, and meet my brothers, who are about to go there, (naming the day), and you will receive light." For the man was, as he himself asserted, from the shore of Dalmatia, and that he had not come previously to the city, before he met the relics of the saints on the main highway, not yet being able to see; but when he touched the bier, he began to see.

CHAPTER XI.

God safeguards the memory of the holy Bishop against detractors. An exhortation on the imitating him. The author's epilogue.

53. And so having discussed these matters I do not think it will appear offensive, if we exceed a little the bounds of our promise,

sanctorum prophetarum loquutus est completum esse doceamus: *Sedentem*[1] *aduersus fratrem suum et detrahenten occulte persequebar;* et alibi: *Noli*[2] *diligere detrahere, ne eradiceris;* ut quicunque forte huiusmodi captus est consuetudine, cum legerit, qualiter in iis qui sancto uiro detrahere ausi sunt fuerit uindicatum, ipse etiam in aliis emendetur. Psal. 100, 5 Prov. 20, 13

54. Igitur Donatus[1] quidam natione Afer, presbyter tamen ecclesiae Mediolanensis, cum in conuiuio positus[2] in quo erant nonnulli militares uiri religiosi detraheret memoriae sacerdotis,—aspernantibus illis et deserentibus linguam nequam,—subito uulnere percussus graui. de eodem loco in quo iacebat alienis manibus sublatus, in lectulum positus est atque inde ad sepulcrum usque perductus. in urbe etiam Carthaginensi, cum apud Fortunatum diaconum fratrem uenerabilis uiri Aurelii[3] episcopi ad conuiuium conuenissem, una cum Vincentio[4] Colossitano[5] episcopo, Murano[6] etiam episcopo Bolitano,[7] sed[8] et aliis episcopis et diaconibus, tunc Murano episcopo detrahenti sancto uiro retuli exitum presbyteri superius memorati; quod ille de alio dictum de se oraculum maturo sui exitu comprobauit. nam de eodem loco in quo iacebat cum subito uulnere ingenti esset percussus, alienis manibus ad lectum usque portatus est atque inde ad domum in qua hospitabatur[9] reductus diem clausit extremum. is finis uirorum illi detrahentium fuit, quem uidentes qui tunc aderant admirati sunt.

55. Unde[1] hortor et obsecro omnem hominem, qui hunc librum legerit, ut imitetur uitam uiri, laudet Dei gratiam et declinet detrahentium linguas, si uult magis[2] consortium habere cum

1. impletum A B. 2. tuum *corr.* suum B. occulte] hunc *add.* A. persequar B. 3. detrahente B. eradicemini *editi.* ut] aut D. 4. forte] autem D. captus est] *om.* D. consuetudinem habet D. 5. iis] hiis A B C D. fuerint B. 6. emendet B. 9. militaris C. uiri] *om.* C. detraheret] que *add.* C. 10. aspernentibus C. 11. percussus] est *add.* B. 12. subleuatus C D. inde] *om.* B. 13. deductus A B, ductus D. Carthaginense C. 14. diaconem B. episcopi] cum apud Fortunatum *add.* B. 15. conuenissemus D. uenissem A. Clusitano D. 16. et (1)] ab *add.* C. tunc] *om.* A. 17. presbyteri] uiri A. 18. memorati] nominati C. 19. sui] suo A, so C. ictu B, exitum C. 20. esse D. 21. usque ad lectum D. usque] *om.* C. 22. diem clausit extremum] et uitam finiuit D. is] hic A B, his C. finibus C. illi] *om.* C, illorum D. 23. audierant B D. ammirati A B. 24. obsecror D. 25. ut] *om.* C D. uitam] sancti *add. editi.* gratia C. et] *om.* C D. 26. mauult A, simul B, uul C. magis] *om.* A B D.

that we may show that the word of the Lord which He spoke through the mouths of the holy prophets has been fulfilled: *The man that sitteth against his brother and detracteth him in private will I persecute.* And elsewhere: *Love not to detract, lest you be totally destroyed;* so that whoever by chance is seized by a habit of this kind, when he has read how vengeance has been taken on those who dared to detract from the holy man, himself also among others may be corrected.

54. Now a certain Donatus, an African by race but a presbyter of the church of Milan, when seated at a banquet at which were some religious army-men he detracted from the memory of the bishop—although they spurned and avoided his wretched tongue—was suddenly struck with a severe wound. He was raised up by strange hands from the place in which he lay, placed on a litter, and carried thence even to the grave. In the city of Carthage also when I had gone to the house of the deacon Fortunatus, brother of the venerable bishop Aurelius, to dine, together with Vincentius, bishop of Colositanum, with Muranus also bishop of Bolita and other bishops and deacons, to Bishop Muranus who was then detracting from the holy man I related the fate of the presbyter mentioned above; and these words concerning another he confirmed as an oracle about himself by his own premature death. For, after he had been suddenly struck with a great wound, from the very place on which he lay he was carried by strange hands to a bed; and on being brought thence to the house in which he was guest brought his days to a close. This was the end of men who detract him, and those who were then present on seeing this marveled.

55. Wherefore, I urge and beseech every man who will read this book, to imitate the life of the man, to praise the grace of God, and to avoid the tongues of detractors, if he wishes rather to have

Ambrosio in resurrectione[3] uitae, quam cum detrahentibus illis subire supplicium quod nullus sapiens non declinat.

56. Tuam etiam precor beatitudinem,[1] pater Augustine, ut pro me humillimo et peccatore Paulino, cum omnibus sanctis qui tecum inuocant nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi in ueritate, orare digneris,[2] ut quia in adipiscenda gratia cum tanto uiro non sum dignus habere consortium, adeptus meorum ueniam peccatorum sit mihi praemium fugisse supplicium.

1. resurrectionem *corr.* resurrectione D. illis] *om.* A B D. 2. sapiens] *om.* A. 3. Augustine] *om.* B D. 4. et] *om. editi.* peccatorem C. 8. Explicit uita uel actus Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi B, Explicit uita Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi C, Explicit uita Beati Ambrosii Episcopi D.

companionship with Ambrose in the resurrection of life, than with those detractors to undergo a punishment which no wise man does not avoid.

56. I also beg your Blessedness, father Augustine, that for me, the most humble man and sinner Paulinus, together with all the saints who with you invoke the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ in truth, you may deign to pray, so that, since in obtaining grace, I am not worthy to have companionship with so great a man, having obtained pardon for my sins I may receive the reward of escaping punishment.

COMMENTARY.

CHAPTER I.

Section 1.

1. What was the exact title, if any, given by Paulinus to his Life of St. Ambrose is difficult to determine. The titles given in the four MSS. consulted somewhat differ, but the identical element in them is the "*Vita Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi.*" We have adopted the title: "*Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi A Paulino Eius Notario Ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta,*" the heading used by Migne in his edition.

2. **uenerabilis:** "reverend," does not occur in prose before the Augustan period, but is frequent among the poets of the Golden Age. It is found in Livy, 1, 7, 8, and frequently among the ecclesiastical writers.

3. **prosecuti sunt:** in the sense of "describe," as here, is Poetic and Post-class. For a parallel passage cf. Plin. Ep. 1, 8, 8: *quid utilius fuit quam munificentiae rationem etiam stilo prosequi?* Also Ep. 2, 5, 5; 3, 10, 3; Quint. 5, 8, 2; 2, 6, 1.

4. **eremo:** ἔρημος, "waste," "desert," a Late Latin substantive borrowed from the Greek. Cf. Tert. Idol. 5; Sulp. Sever. Dial. 1, 15, al.

5. **positorum:** The use of *positus* as an adjective with persons, in the sense of "living," "being," is Late and used probably by ecclesiastical writers only. Cf. Tert., Spect. 25; Arnob., Nat. 2, 51; Vulgate, Tob. 1, 2; Cf. McGuire, *De Nabuthae*, 231, and Souter, *Ambrosiaster*, 125-126.

6. **Seuerus:** Sulpicius Severus, a descendant of a noble family of Aquitaine, was born about 363. He embraced the law, but after the death of his wife retired into solitude through the influence of St. Martin of Tours, as some think, and spent the rest of his life in literary labors and works of piety. Whether he was a priest is

uncertain, as no details of his priestly activities reached us. His death occurred between 410-420.

The extant genuine works of Sulpicius Severus are: 1. The Chronicle, 2. The Life of St. Martin of Tours, 3. Two dialogues, formerly divided into three and three letters. The most popular of his writings during the Middle Ages was the Life of St. Martin, published only after the death of the saint.

The works of Severus are marked especially by a style similar to that of Sallust and Tacitus. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography,* IV, 634; *Cath. Encycl.* XIV, 332.

7. **seruus Dei:** *seruus Dei* and *seruus Christi* are frequently added to names of saints or patriarchs as titles of respect. They are also common epithets in Christian Latin for Christians.

8. **prosequar stilo:** *cf.* note 3 above.

9. **meritis:** in the sense of "worth," "value," "importance," is Poetic and Post-class. Cf. Ov., F. 1, 7; Cod. Just. 8, 5, 2; Cod. Theod. 15, 1, 30; Mart. 8, 65, 7.

10. **imparem:** in the sense of "unequal to," "not a match for," "inferior," as here, is probably not used until after the Aug. period. Cf. Suet., Dom. 10; Tac., A. 23 Juv. 13, 169.

11. **quia:** is the usual particle in the causal sense in Plautus, *quod* being very rare. But *quod* is more common in Terence and is the regular particle in Classical prose. Caesar uses *quia* only once: B. C. 3, 30, 4. In all Late Latin authors and in poetry *quia* is used far more frequently than any other introductory causal particle. So also Paulinus, in accordance with all late writers, uses *quia* far more frequently than any other causal particle, since we notice twenty-six occurrences of *quia* and only about six of *quod*. Cf. St.-Schm. 544; Gildersleeve-Lodge, 541 n. 1.

12. **Marcellina:** Marcellina, the only sister of St. Ambrose, was born about 330, probably at Trier, where her father abode as *praefectus praetorio Galliarum*. After his death the family removed to Rome, and there Marcellina consecrated her life to God by taking the vow of virginity. On that occasion Pope Liberius delivered a discourse which St. Ambrose recorded in his *De Virginibus*. He

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also addressed to her three of his most important letters: *Ep.* XX, describing his conflict with Justina and her son, the younger Valentinian; *Ep.* XXII, announcing the discoveries of the bodies of Saints Gervase and Protase; and *Ep.* XLI, reporting a sermon in which he had reproved Theodosius on the subject of the punishment inflicted by the emperor on some Christians, who had burned a Jewish synagogue. Ambrose, in his discourse on the death of his brother Satyrus, speaks of the warm family affection by which the three were bound and of his sister's great grief. About 374 when St. Ambrose had become Bishop of Milan, he summoned his sister thither in whom he found a zealous assistant in promoting the ascetic life among the virgins in Milan. While in Milan, Paulinus learned from Marcellina the details of St. Ambrose's life. St. Marcellina survived her brother and died about 398. She was buried in the crypt of the Ambrosian Basilica. Her feast is celebrated on July 17. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* III, 844; *Cath. Encycl.* IX, 637.

13. **adiutus . . . conueniat:** Prodiorthosis or a figure in which the author promises to be brief. It is found in the writings of all periods and is especially common with the orators. It is repeated a little later in this same chapter.

14. **orationibus:** *oratio* in Class. Latin is "speech," "discourse," "eloquence"; in the sense of "prayer," as here, it is used from Tertullian on. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

15. **inculto:** in the sense of "unadorned," "unpolished," as here, is mostly Poetic. Cf. Ov., F. 3, 470; id. H. 8, 64; however, cf. Cic., Brut. 31, 117, id. Quint. 30; Sall. C. 2, 8.

16. **breuiter strictimque:** Cf. Cic. Clu. 10, 29: *breuiter strictimque dicere.*

17. **elegantiae pompam:** This genitive has its origin in a Hebrew idiom which was preserved in the Greek texts of the Bible and thence transferred to the Latin. Classical writers did not use the genitive of quality without an adjective; it became frequent after Apuleius. This genitive may be divided into the descriptive and appositional.

The above genitive *elegantiae* tends to belong to the appositional

genitive. In all periods of the Latin language the appositional genitive occurs, but in the Classical period it is confined to geographical nouns, as *flumen, lacus, regio,* etc. In Ecclesiastical Latin there was a tendency to widen the uses of the genitive case, so we find little if any restriction in the employment of the appositional genitive. For a full treatment of the usage of this genitive, cf. St.-Schm., 363-364; Salonius, 84-89.

18. **phaleras:** in the sense of "trappings" or "rhetorical ornament," Poetic and Late. Cf. Pers. 3, 30; Mart. Cap. 3, 221; Symm., Ep. 83; Sid., Ep. 1, 9.

19. **gratiam:** in Class. literature it means "favor," "esteem," "regard"; in Post-class., "charm," "beauty," and in eccl. Latin, it means "divine grace," as here.

20. **siquidem:** is found in Ante-class. Latin, in Plautus, Terence, Naevius, although not in Cato or Varro, often in Cicero and Caesar, and everywhere with the indicative. In Post-class. Latin *siquidem* is used as a causal conjunction and then it is equal to *quoniam.* We find it so used in Val., but seldom in Pliny, Tacitus, or Seneca. In Late Latin it frequently governs the subjunctive, as in the present instance. Cf. St.-Schm. 593.

21. **stillantem:** mostly Poetic in the sense of "drip," "trickle," "drop," as here. Cf. Lucr. 4, 1060; Prop. 2, 8, 26; Tib. 1, 7, 51; Ov., M. 1, 112.

22. **hordeaceus:** occurs first in Cato and then frequently in the prose writers of Post-class. Latin particularly. Cf. Cato, R. R. 157, 5; Plin. 20, 13, 51; 18, 11, 26; 18, 29, 71; Col. 11, 2, 99; Pall., 1 R. R. 29; Ambros., Vid. 79.

23. **qui centenis uicibus ferculorum cotidiani conuiuii copias ructare consuerunt:** hyperbole.

24. **ferculorum:** in the sense of "dish," as here, Post-Class. and mostly Poetic. Cf. Hor., 2 Sat. 6, 104; Prop. 4, 4, 74; Plin., 33 Hist. nat. 10, 47 (136); Mart. 9, 82; Suet., Aug. 74; Ambros., De Off. 1, 165; De Virgin. III, 29. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 490, 24ff. The present passage is cited.

Section 2.

1. **Quamobrem . . . rationem:** Prodiorthosis, cf. Sec. 1, n. 13.

2. **iste:** In Class. Latin *iste* regularly refers to the second person, i. e., to something having a direct connection with the person addressed. However, as early as Plautus, we have evidence of a weakening of the force of *iste*, especially in the combination *iste tuus, ista tua*, etc. This usage once established is found in Accius, Varro, Cicero, Catullus, Livy and in later authors, but especially in ecclesiastical writers. *Iste* as a synonym of *hic* is found as early as Catullus, but this usage is rare in the Class. period, being confined mostly to the poets. It becomes more frequent in patristic literature. Cf. Cypr., De. Hab. Virg. 15 p.: *isto in loco;* Tert., De Idol. 19 p.: *in isto capitulo;* Sulp. Sev., Chron. 1, 2, 1: *uoluminis istius.* Cf. Meader 111-158.

So here *iste* is used in a sense normally expressed by *hic*.

3. **quandoquidem . . . sit:** *quando* strengthened by *quidem*, used principally to introduce a temporal clause, also appears, but less frequently, as a causal particle. As such, however, it always appears with the indicative in direct, and subjunctive in indirect (partial or total) statements during the Classical period. Later writers do not strictly follow this Classical usage, and we find it used with the subjunctive in a direct statement, as here. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 382; St.-Schm., 556.

4. **nos . . . rationem:** For the thought, cf. Matth. XII, 36: *quoniam omne uerbum otiosum, quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii,* i. e., that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgment.

5. **unde:** in the sense of *igitur*, "therefore," as here, is Late Latin. It is so used regularly in Jerome and is common also in Ambrose. Cf. Goelzer (J), 424, and K.-Schm., s. v.

6. **natiuitatis:** appositional genitive. For this genitive, cf. Sec. 1, n. 17. The word *natiuitatis* is Late Latin, being cited for Orosius, 1, 1, 6; Tert., Anim. 39; Spect., 30; Cypr., 354, 3; Aug., Ep. 102, 3; Ambros., De Inst. Virg. 18.

7. **gratia:** cf. Sec. 1, n. 19.

CHAPTER II.

Section 3.

1. **administratione praefecturae:** Diocletian instituted sweeping changes in the administration of the empire. Constantine followed his lead and established a system of civil administration, at the head of which stood four *praefecti praetorio,* though unlike the *praefectus praetorio* of Augustus, who was a military officer. Each of these men was styled, respectively, *praefectus praetorio Orientis, Illyrici, Italiae, Galliarum.* It was the privilege of the *praefectus* to nominate to the emperor the governors of the provinces into which his *praefectura* was divided, to supervise the conduct of these governors, to remove them from office, if he deemed it advisable. He had absolute judiciary powers and had complete control of imperial finances in his *praefectura.* The term of office is said to have been short. The praefecture of the Gauls included the following provinces: Hispania, Aquitania, Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Belgica, Germania inferior et superior, Britania and Mauretania in Africa. The seat of the *praefectus Galliarum* was Treves or Trier, in modern Germany. Cf. Greenidge, *Student's Gibbon,* I, 158-161.

2. **patre . . . Ambrosio:** father of St. Ambrose. He was a Roman of the highest rank, and at the time of St. Ambrose's birth was the *Praefectus Galliarum* ruling the present territories of France, Britain and Spain, together with Tingitana in Africa. It was one of the four great praefectures of the empire, as we have mentioned above, and the highest office intrusted to a subject. It is not known in which of the principal cities of this province the prefect resided when his son Ambrose was born, but since Treves or Trier was the seat of the *praefectus,* most probably it was here that St. Ambrose was born. About the year 354 the father died, and the rest of the family removed to Rome. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography,* I, 91.

3. **matre:** the mother of St. Ambrose. We know very little about her except that on the death of her husband she moved to Rome.

4. **uel:** not a disjunctive conjunction, but is equivalent to *et.* So used, it is uncommon in Class. literature, but frequent in Late Latin and especially in the African writers, Cyprian and Cassian. Cf. St.-Schm., 502.

5. **filia:** Marcellina, the sister of St. Ambrose. Cf. Sec. 1, n. 12.

6. **deambulabat:** a rare compound word, belonging to colloquial speech. It is found in Terence and Cato, and again from Suetonius on. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. V, 81, 75 ff.

7. **nutriendi:** in the sense of "feeding," as here, is mostly Poetic. The Classical prose word is *alere*. Cf. Hor., S. 2, 4, 40; Ov., F. 2, 415; Plin. 11, 40, 95; Sen., Troad, 225; Juv. 14, 75; Ambros., Off. III, 21.

8. **miraculum:** in the sense of "miracle," as here, eccl. Latin.

9. **subleuatae sunt:** may be used absolutely or with the reflexive pronoun. No instance is noted of the middle or reflexive use of the passive, as here.

10. **infantulus:** This diminutive is Late. Cf. App., M. 8 p. 207, 39; Nazar., Paneg. Const. 16, 6; Jerome, in Isai. 3, 7, 16; Ep. 60, 8; Vulg., Lev. 12, 3, etc.; Ennod, 114, 33; Ambros., De Inst. Virg. 50.

11. **iste:** for *hic,* cf. Sec. 2, n. 2.

12. **operabatur:** not in Cicero or Caesar, mostly Poetic. It is first used in prose by Livy. Cf. Verg., 3 A. 136; Tib. 2, 1, 65; Ov., 2 Amor. 7, 23; 3 Art. Am. 411; Val. Max. 8, 7, n. 4 extern.; Col., 12 R. R. 4, 3; Ambros., Off. 1, 9. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

13. **iam tunc:** The phrase *iam tunc* is rare but is already found in Cicero. Cf. Cic. Fam. 3, 12, 3; Vell. 2, 12, 1; Gell. 17, 21, 8; Just. 13, 5, 5.

14. **seruuli:** used here for *seruus.* Paulinus, like nearly all his contemporaries, especially Ambrose, employs this substantive without its diminutive force. Cf. Barry, Sr. M. Finbarr, *Vocabulary of the Moral-Ascetical Works of St. Ambrose,* 80-81.

15. **infantia:** meaning "infancy," "early childhood," and

"children," is Post-class. Cf. Quint. 1, 1, 19; Tac. 1, 4; Juv. 3, 85; Plin. 32, 2, 11.

16. **Scriptum est:** a stereotyped phrase employed by ecclesiastical writers to introduce a scriptural quotation. The Greek equivalent is γέγραπται. Cf. McGuire, *De Nabuthae,* 115.

17. Proverb. XVI, 24: Old Version. The Vulgate reads: *Fauus mellis composita uerba,* "Well ordered words are as a honeycomb."

18. **terrenis:** in the sense of "earthly" as opposed to *caelestis,* "heavenly," eccl. Latin. Cf. K.-Schm., s. v.

Section 4.

1. **fuerat professa:** The use of *fueram* for *eram* and *fuit* for *est* in compound tenses originated in the language of the people. This shifting of tenses by means of which the pluperfect of certain verbs was not used in the real meaning of the tense, but completely in the sense of the imperfect or perfect, became frequent in Late Latin, especially with the Africans. Later, but more seldom, the same shifting occurs in the subjunctive also. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 140-142; St.-Schm. 460.

2. **Candida:** Nothing further is known concerning the life of *Candida.* G. Clausse in his *Basiliques et Mosaiques Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1898), 399, speaks in connection with the Ambrosian Basilica of three medallions: the first a female head bearing the subscription *Sc̄ā Marcellina;* the second, a male head, bearing the name *S. Satyrus;* and the third, a female head, with the subscription *Sc̄ā Candida.* This latter may refer to the Candida above mentioned.

3. **professionis:** The use of *professio* in the sense of "calling," "profession," as here, is Class. but becomes frequent only in Post-class. Latin.

4. **degit:** meaning "to live," occurs frequently only in Post-class. and Late Latin. Cf. T. L. L. V. 385, 27 ff.

5. **sacerdotibus:** In the writings of the Fathers we find *sacerdos, episcopus, antistes,* and *praepositus* used for a bishop. *Episcopus* and *sacerdos* are the more common of the four, and until the time of St. Jerome, *sacerdos* is used as frequently as *episcopus.*

Gradually the term *sacerdos* lost its former significance and became applicable to both bishop and priest, while at present it is used only for a priest. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XII, 406-407; Watson, 351.

6. **domestica:** as an adj. is frequent among the Class. writers and it is not uncommon to find it used as a substantive in the plural but it does not occur in Class. Latin as a substantive in the singular. Cf. Cic., Rabir. Post 2, 4; Liv. 1, 42; Suet., Aug. 89; Oth. 10; Vopisc., Numer. 13; Ambros., Virgin. 87. Cf. Georges, s. v.

7. **siquidem . . . memorabat:** for *siquidem* in a causal sense, cf. Sec. 1, n. 20.

8. **sacerdotium:** We find among the writings of the Fathers *sacerdotium* normally used to designate the episcopal office; *episcopatus* also occurs, but less frequently. Cf. Adams, Sr. M. A., *Latinity of the Letters of St. Ambrose,* 112.

Section 5.

1. **sed:** in the sense of "and," as here, is found in the Class. period, but becomes common only in Late Latin. Sallust uses *sed* in the sense of *atque* (C. 25, 1). Cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 77; St.-Schm. 499-500.

2. **liberalibus disciplinis:** The Liberal Disciplines, according to Aristotle (Politics, VIII, 1), are the proper studies for freemen seeking intellectual and moral excellence in general, rather than the studies of immediate practical value. He draws a clear distinction between a liberal and a technical education.

The liberal disciplines of the Greeks became the recognized ground-work for the education of the Romans, known among them as *artes liberales, studia liberalia, liberales disciplinae,* or *liberales scientiae.* Grammar, dialects, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, music, medicine and architecture were the nine disciplines as named by Varro. In the Early Empire the arts, probably seven, due to Alexandrian influence, became closely coördinated as a body of school instruction, known as encyclical education.

Among the Christians, especially in the Western Church, there was a strong spirit of antagonism towards the arts at first, but gradually this feeling changed to active encouragement of the lib-

eral disciplines on the ground that they ministered to higher spiritual truth. This transition is especially noticed in the writings of St. Augustine, cf. *De Doctrina Christiana.* Although the latter considered Varro as his authority in the matters pertaining to the history of the liberal arts, he does not adhere to Varro's number of disciplines and instead of nine he enumerates seven. In Martianus Capella of Carthage (*De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*) we find for the first time an express limitation of the arts to seven. He excludes medicine and architecture as being utilitarian. Boethius next divides them into quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and trivium: grammar, rhetoric and dialects. And so all subsequent writers, as Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus call them *septem artes liberales,* which are the ancient *artes liberales* Christianized. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* I, 760-765; Harper's *Dict. of Class. Literature and Antiquities,* 952-953.

3. **auditorio:** in the sense of "hall of justice," as here, is Post-class. Cf. Quint. Inst. 2, 11, 3; Tac., Or. 9, 10, 39; Vulg., Act. 25, 23. Under the Roman Empire, the enclosed courts about the Forum, where magistrates heard civil causes, were called *auditoria.* Cf. T. L. L. II, 1296, 54-82. For the thought of the entire passage, cf. *De Excessu,* 1, 49, where Ambrose says of the eloquence of his brother: *quam incredibile admiratione in auditorio praefecturae sublimis emicuit.*

4. **illustri:** "The Right Honorable" or "Illustrious." *Illustres* (Illustrious), *Spectabiles* (Respectable), and *Clarissimi* (Honorable) were the titles given to magistrates and officials by Diocletian and Constantine, *Illustres* being considered the highest of the three. From the time of Valentinian I, *Illustres* became an official title of the consuls, of the chief *praefecti* or ministers, and of the commander-in-chief of the army. Eventually, however, this title was extended to less important officials and even to pensionaries from the order of *Spectabiles.* The great privilege of the Illustres was that in criminal cases they were tried by none save the emperor or his deputy. A further privilege of delegating procurators to represent them in the courts also belonged to the *Illustres. Spectabiles* was a title given to all members of the senate, and to all those who, from this body, the senate, were selected to govern the provinces.

The praefectures were governed by *illustres praefecti praetorio*, the dioceses by *Spectabiles vicarii* and the provinces by *Clarissimi consulares*. Cf. Greenidge, *Student's Gibbon* I, 161 note, also Abbott's *Political Institutions*, 156-157; Hodgkin, I, 1, 604-617.

5. **Probo:** Petronius Probus gained distinction and prestige by becoming allied by marriage to the great Anician *gens*, known for its wealth, official distinction, and devotion to Christianity. He was consul with Gratian in 371 A. D., and held the office of Praetorian Prefect of Italy, Illyricum, the Gauls, and Africa four times. In 358 he was pro-consul of Africa and next he was Prefect of Italy, which office he held until the death of Valentinian or until 374. Later in 383-384, history tells us, he was Praetorian Prefect and after the murder of Gratian in 383 he acted as regent to Valentinian II. It was during his tenure of office that he chose Ambrose to be one of his council, later appointing him governor of Liguria and Aemilia with the rank of consul. He died in 394 at the age of sixty, after having received baptism. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, IV, 481.

6. **consularitatis . . . insignia:** "Consular rank." During the republican period this term was applied only to persons holding the consulship, while under the empire it was a mere title and we find officers thus entitled who never actually became consuls. It might be said that the title became almost equivalent to that of an honorary consul. Very frequently persons after their consulship became generals of the army in the provinces; hence this title of "Consular rank" was given them. Later *consularis* became an established title of the governors entrusted with the administration of imperial provinces. Thus, in the second century A. D. this title always denotes a governor who actually held the office of a consul or received the rank from the emperor *per codicillos;* but by the fourth century it was a mere title of a particular class of provincial governors. Cf. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 537-538.

consularitatis: a Late Latin word, cited for Cod. Theod. 12, 1, 74, 4; Max. Taur. epist. 2, 8; Cod. Just. 12, 3, 4. The present passage is also cited. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 573, 3-13.

7. **Liguriam Aemiliamque prouincias:** Liguria—a district of Italy, constituted the ninth region in the division made by Augustus. All through the empire the boundaries of Liguria remained unchanged, but during the reign of Constantine the province of Cottian Alps was incorporated with Liguria and the name was changed to Alpes Cottiae, the name Liguria being then transferred to the eleventh region, or Gallia Transpadana. At this time—that is, when Ambrose received the consular rank—Liguria corresponded to Northern Piedmont and part of Western Lombardy.

Aemilia retained its ancient name which it received from the Via Aemilia constructed by M. Aemilius Lipidus. It was a district of about 150 mi. and marks the course of the Po river on its southern bank. Both provinces were under one governor, Milan being the seat of government. Cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* II, 183-189; Baedeker, K., *Northern Italy,* 63-64, 297-299.

CHAPTER III.

Section 6.

1. **Per idem tempus:** for the same expression, cf. Cic., Brut. 83, 286: *duo fuerunt per idem tempus dissimiles inter se.* A quite common expression in Paulinus, occurring thirteen times.

2. **Auxentio:** In 355, after the banishment of Dionysius, bishop of Milan, Auxentius was made bishop of that see through Arian intrigue. He was a native of Cappadocia, filled with bitter hatred of the Catholic faith and a violent persecutor of his orthodox subjects. St. Hilary of Poitiers publicly accused him at Milan in 364 and consequently, in a disputation held at that city, by order of the emperor, Valentinian, he was convicted of error. His submission was only apparent, however, and he remained powerful enough to compel the departure of St. Hilary from Milan. St. Athanasius in a synod at Rome in 369 procured his condemnation by Pope Damasus. Auxentius, nevertheless, retained possession of his see until his death in 374. He held the see of Milan for nearly twenty years. He was succeeded by St. Ambrose. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* I, 384.

3. **perfidiae:** Among the eccl. writers *perfidia* signifies heresy,

disloyalty towards God and the true religion. Cf. Goelzer, *St. Avit,* 423.

4. **Dionysio:** St. Dionysius was the bishop of Milan from 346 until his banishment by the Arian emperor Constantius in 355. He never returned from exile, as two years after the banishment he died in Asia, where he acquired a high reputation for sanctity. In his sermon against Auxentius, St. Ambrose calls his see, "an inheritance of Dionysius who died in exile in the cause of the faith." He again refers to St. Dionysius in his Letter LXIII in which he writes concerning the virtues required of a bishop.

St. Ambrose received his body in Milan with honor, where it was sent under the sanction of St. Basil and St. Aurelius, the local bishop. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography,* I, 852; *Cath. Encycl.* I, 384; X, 300.

5. **beatae memoriae:** in the sense of "blessed memory" is used only among the Christians. For the same expression, cf. Hil. op. hist. frag. 2, 5; id, 2, 8; Jerome Epist. 24, 1; id, 51, 2; cf. T. L. L. II, 1914, 38-49; K.-Schm. 1, 234.

6. **confessore:** The word *confessor* is taken from the verb *confiteri,* "to confess," "to profess," first cited for Tert. and used by the Christians as a title of honor given to those who confessed Christ publicly in the times of persecution, and remained faithful to their confession until the end. *Confessor* in the fourth century signified those Christians who were remarkable for their virtues and knowledge, confessing the faith of Christ by the practice of the most heroic virtues, by their preaching and writings. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 191, 81 ff.; *Cath. Encycl.* IV, 215.

7. **ad exsilium destinato:** The use of *destinare* = *mittere,* as here, is Late. Cf. T. L. L. V, 759, 84 ff. The present passage is cited 760, 22.

8. **incubabat ecclesiam:** in the sense of "to retain sole possession of" is Post-class. The use of the acc. with *incubare* seems confined to Late Latin. Cf. Apul. 7 Met.

9. **ad seditionem surgeret:** *Surgo* with *ad* or *in* and the acc. is Poetic and Late Latin. For similar expressions, cf. Verg., A.

10, 28: *in Teucros Aetolis surgit ab Arpis Tydides;* Amm. 21, 15, 1: *ad motum certaminum ciuilium auide surrecturus;* id. 21, 13, 14: *ad insonatium pericula surrexerunt.*

10. **in petendo episcopo:** The ablative of the gerund or gerundive construction with *in* to express manner or circumstance instead of the present participle is very rare in the Class. period. But Ovid and Livy favored the usage, and under their influence the construction became frequent in later writers, especially in Late Latin. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 751-753; St.-Schm. 447-448.

11. **alloqueretur:** in the sense of "address," *alloqui* is rare in Ante-class. and Class.-Latin (the usage does not occur in Caesar and but rarely in Cicero), but it becomes common in Post-class. and Late Latin. Cf. K.-Schm. I, 148; T. L. L. I, 1695, 72 ff.

12. **plebem:** In the writings of Cicero *plebs* means the "lower class of people," the "mob." In Horace and in Ovid it comes to mean the "crowd" and in the latter it sometimes has the designation of "inferior gods." Ammanius refers to the simple soldiers as *plebs.* In eccl. Latin it takes on the meaning of a "parish" or "congregation." Cf. B.-G. s. v.

Here most probably *plebem* has the poetic designation of "crowd."

13. **totius populi ora . . . adclamantis:** Hyperbaton.

Adclamantis: in the sense of "cry out with approbation," especially in proclaiming of an emperor, is Post-class. Cf. Liv. 34, 50, 4; id. 34, 50, 9; Val. Max, 6, 2, 6; Tac. ann. 1, 19; Plin. Epist. 4, 9, 18; Suet. Claud. 27. In eccl. Latin, as here, it is used for the proclaiming of a bishop. Cf. Amm. 22, 9, 14; Lucif. mor. esse 13; Ven. Fort. vita Germ. 63 (171); Acta synhod. Rom. 499 (Mor. Germ. XII, 402); Ven. Fort. uita Mour. 13, 61. Cf. T. L. L. I, 325, 80 ff.

14. **turbulentissime:** This superlative is quoted by N. W. and F. F. only for Sidon., Ep. 2, 13, 5: *turbulentissime regere.*

15. **ordinari:** in the sense of "to ordain as a priest," "admit to a clerical office," as here, eccl. Latin. Cf. Lampr., Alex. Sev. 45; Cassiod., Hist. Eccl. 9, 36; Vulg., I Cor. 16, 15. The words

ordinarily used by the Fathers to describe the appointment of clergy are: *constituere, ordinare, facere.* Cf. Watson 261.

Section 7.

1. **eggressus ecclesiam:** *egredi* with the acc. is cited first for Sall. Jug. 110, 7, but in general it is not frequent in the Class. period. Cicero never uses it with the acc. and we find only two instances of *egredi* with the acc. in Caesar: Civ. 3, 52, 2; Gall. 1, 44, 7, and one in Livy, 22, 55, 8. Caesar, Sall. and Livy use *egredi* with the acc. but only in the sense of "passing over," not in our present meaning of "going out." Sall. and Livy prefer to use *excedere.* There is no uniform usage in the Post-class. period. However, *egredi* with the acc. is frequent in Late Latin. Cf. K.-Schm. I, 495-496.

2. **tribunal sibi parari fecit:** The use of the acc. and inf. after *facere* "make to," "cause to" is rarely found in Class. Latinity, *ut* with the subjunctive being the usual construction. In the Post-class. period it is used sparingly but becomes frequent in Late writers. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 426; Draeger, II, 416; Ph. Thielmann, *Facere mit dem Infinitiv,* Archiv. III, 177-206. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 115-116.

3. **quippe:** in the sense of *enim,* as here, is found in Sallust but is especially frequent in Post-class. and Late writers. Cf. Gildersleeve-Lodge, 498, n. 8; St.-Schm. 505.

4. **futurus:** the future part. used as an adj. is found in the Aug. poets and in Late writers. The use of *futurus* as an adj. is Class. however, as it is found in Cicero with *res* and a number of other words. Cf. Lane, 2283, also K.-Schm. s. v.

5. **altiora conscendit:** in the sense of "ascend" is rare in prose in the Class. period. *Conscendo* followed by the acc. is Poetic, Post-class. and Late. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 361, 47 ff.

6. **dominicum:** for the genitive of the noun. In all periods of the language an attributive adj. frequently replaces an objective or subjective genitive. Due to the poets, however, in the Post-class. period there is a more extensive use of the adj. for the genitive and

from the third century on this usage becomes common. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 208; Salonius, 180; Gabarrou, 154; Watson, 215.

7. Matth. XXVII, 25: Both the Old Version and the Vulgate read: *Sanguis eius super nos.* According to Sabatier, Tert. (I contra Jud. 8, 141) is the first to begin using *huius* instead of *eius,* as here.

8. **illi . . . isti:** As *iste* took the place of *hic,* we also find the combination *iste . . . ille* in Post-class. Latin and in Late Latin *ille . . . iste.* Cf. St.-Schm. 622. This correlation of *ille . . . iste* or *iste . . . ille* is especially frequent in Patristic literature. Cf. Meader, 134-161.

9. **catechumenum:** a person undergoing a course of preparation before he could be received into the Church was called a catechumen. This course consisted of preliminary instructions, through which the convert became acquainted with the doctrines of the Church and divine law. Even in the times of the Apostles we read of such instructions, and we find the mention of catechist and catechumen. However, just what the regulations were it is difficult to determine. By the end of the second century the catechumenate was in force in all its main lines, while in the third and fourth centuries we find the catechumenate flourishing in its full form.

Concerning the division of the catechumens and for a further treatment of the question, cf. *Cath. Encycl.* III, 430-432.

10. **fideli uoce:** for the genitive of the noun. Cf. n. 6 above. *Fidelis* is used here in a Christian sense, i. e. referring to the Christian faith. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 657, 73-84, 658, 1-78.

11. **remissionem:** in the sense of "forgiveness of sin," as here, is eccl. Latin.

12. **baptismatis:** *βάπτισμα,* an eccl. word.

13. **philosophiam profiteri:** for similar expression, cf. Cic., Pis. 29, 71: *siquid philosophia, ut fertur uirtus continet, et officii et bene uiuendi disciplinam; quam qui profitetur, grauissimam sustinere mihi personam uidetur.*

14. **saecularibus:** in the sense of "worldly," as here, eccl. Latin.

Cf. Jerome, Ep. 60, 11; Sedul., In Conc. post Ep. 7, 9; Tert., Exhort. ad Cast. 13.

15. **piscatorum:** "fishers." The word is used first in this meaning in Cic. Off. 3, 14, 58 (the only instance in his works) and then in Val. Max., Seneca, Petronius, Apuleius, and later writers. The word itself is found as early as Plautus and Terence who use it in the sense of "fishmonger." Note that it is used here by antonomasia for the Apostles. Cf. Matth. 4, 19: *Et faciam uos fieri piscatores hominum.*

16. **populos:** in the sense of "people," "men," etc., *populi* is Poetic, Post-class. and Late. Cf. K.-Schm., s. v.

17. **fucis:** in the sense of "florid language," as here, occurs in Class. Latin, but in general, it is rare. Cf. Cic. De Orat. 2, 188; id. 3, 100; Gell. 12, 4, 3; Fronto, 215, 19; Arnob. Nat. 1, 50, 347; Aug. Epist. 137, 18; Lact. Inst. 5, 1, 18; 6, 21, 6. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 1462, 77 ff. The present passage is cited.

18. **missi . . . uirga:** For the thought, cf. Matth. X, 10: *non peram in uia, neque duas tunicas, neque calceamenta, neque uirgam.* "Nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff." Cf. also Luke IX, 3, and Mark VI, 6.

19. **conuerterunt:** in the sense of "to convert to Christ" is eccl. Latin cited first for Tert. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 868, 51 ff.

20. **publice:** meaning "publicly" is Post-class. Cf. Gell. 17, 21, 1; Treb., Pol. Claud. 17; App., M. 10, 247, 16; Mag. 276, 35; M. 2, 118, 10. The Class. equivalent is *palam*. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

21. **ingredi fecit:** for *facere* with inf., cf. Sec. 7, n. 2.

22. **ad hoc: = ob hoc.** The use of this phrase begins in Livy and becomes frequent especially in Late prose. Cf. St.-Schm. 395.

Section 8.

1. **egressus . . . ciuitatem:** for *egressus* with the accusative cf. Sec. 7, n. 1.

2. **Ticinum:** a city of Gallia Transpadania, is situated on the river Ticinus in a fertile plain connected at present with Milan

by the Naviglio Canal. We find the earliest mention of Ticinum in history by Tac. (Ann. III, 5) on the occasion of the death of Drusus, father of Germanicus. After this it is frequently mentioned during the civil wars. Already under the Roman Republic it became a municipal town and after the fall of the Empire it rose to the position it subsequently occupied. After being devastated in 422 by Attila, it was again rebuilt by Theodoric and in 774 taken by Charlemagne the name was changed to Papia or modern Pavia. We find no remains of antiquity in modern Pavia except a few sarcophagi and inscriptions. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography* II, 1205-1206; *Cath. Encycl.* XI, 592.

3. **portam . . . quae Romana dicitur:** *Porta Romana* is situated between Corso di Porta Romana and Corso Lodi. It opens up northwest to Corso di Porta Romana, northeast to Bast di Romana, southeast to Corso Lodi and west to Bast di P. Vigentina. Cf. Baedeker, *Northern Italy,* facing 89.

4. **turrem . . . Damasci:** for the thought, cf. Cant. IV, 4: *Sicut turris Dauid collum tuum, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis;* "Thy neck is as the tower of David, which is built with bulwarks." Also Cant. VII, 4: *Nasus tuus sicut turris Libani, quae respicit contra Damascus;* "Thy nose is as the tower of Libanus, that looketh toward Damascus."

5. **hoc est:** Since the writers of Post-class. period have shown a preference for *hic* over *is,* the formula *hoc est,* first cited for Lucilius (9, 32 f.), becomes very frequent in Post-class. Latin. Although *id est* is the older of the two formulae, being first cited for Cato, De Agr. 57, it is entirely disregarded by Paulinus, as we find absolutely no instance of *id est* in the *Vita. Hoc est,* on the other hand, occurs five times.

For a fuller treatment concerning the two formulae, cf. Meader 53-66.

6. **relatio:** in the sense of "message," as here, Post-class. and Late.

7. **laetabatur . . . quod . . . impleretur:** *Quod* is used to denote cause with verbs of emotion, as: *gaudeo, laetor, miror, doleo,*

etc., but in the Class. period always with the indicative. Later writers, however, prefer to use the subjunctive. Cf. K.-Steg., II, 2, 384.

Section 9.

1. **Leontii:** Leontius, a gentleman near Milan, at whose house Ambrose lay concealed for a time to escape being made a bishop. Cf. Smith and Wace, III, 693, s. v. Leontius (77).

2. **clarissimi:** "The Honorable," cf. Sec. 5, n. 4.

3. **circa se:** *Circa* is used here for *erga*, a characteristic usage in Late Latin, cited before Fronto only for Pliny and Cels. Dig. Cf. St.-Schm., 403; T. L. L., III, 1091, 55 ff.; K.-Steg. II, 1, 543-544.

4. **sollicite:** is Post-class. and Late. Cf. K.-Schm. II, 586.

5. **cunctorum:** for *omnium*.

6. **ordinationis:** the word itself is Post-class. and in the sense of "ordination," as here, is eccl. Latin. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v. *ordinare*.

7. **hoc est:** cf. Sec. 8, n. 5.

8. **proprium:** The adj. *proprius* used as a possessive pronoun for *meus, tuus, suus*, is very common among Late Latin writers. Cf. K.-Schm., s. v.; Svennung, 65.

9. **solitus erat:** used here instead of *solebat*, as *solitus* here keeps its verbal idea. Cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

10. **germana:** cited as a subst., as here, only for Plautus, Virg., Ovid, and later writers.

11. **defuncta:** in the sense of "dead," as here, Post-class. It is equvalent to Class. *mortua*. Cf. K.-Schm., 1, 407.

Section 10.

1. **sacrificium:** used here in its Christian sense of "Holy Sacrifice of the Mass."

2. **offerret:** in the sense of "offer up to God," as here, eccl. Latin. Cf. Prud., 5 Cath. 150 et 2 περὶ στεφ 75; Vulg., Exod. 38, 24; Ambrose., Virgin. 7.

3. **balneatrix:** a Post-class. word. Cf. Petr., ap. Serv. ad Verg. A. 12, 159; Prob., Cath. gramm. IV, 3, 1. Cf. T. L. L., II, 1704, 10 ff. The present passage is cited. The word is very rare, these three examples being the only ones cited in T. L. L., and Georges.

4. **paralytica:** this adjective is a Post-class. loan-word from the Greek.

5. **sellula:** this diminutive of *sella* is cited once for Tac. Hist. 3, 84; but otherwise is confined to Fronto and later writers.

6. **portari fecit:** on the use of *facio* with the inf., cf. Sec. 7, n. 2.

7. **exoscularetur:** the word is Post-class. and Late. Cf. Tac., 2 Hist. 49; Plin., 5 Ep. 17; Suet., Vitell. 7; Cal. 33; Oth. 12; Apul., Met. 11; Ambros., De Virg. II, 20.

8. **dominicum:** for the genitive of the noun, cf. Sec 7, n. 6.

9. **dictum ad Apostolos:** *Dico* followed by *ad* with the acc. instead of the dative, while existing among Classical writers, is common only in Late Latin. This is due chiefly to the influence of the Old Version in which the Greek phrase *εἰπεῖν πρός τινα* is commonly translated by *dicere ad.* Cf. Goelzer, (J.), 329; K.-Schm., s. v.

10. **Etiam . . . meo:** Paulinus gives here the thought rather than an exact quotation of Joh., XIV, 12: Cf. Old Version: *qui credit in me, opera, quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet.* "He that believeth in me, the works that I do, he shall do; and greater than these shall he do."

11. **signum sanitatis:** the expression is scriptural. Cf. Acts IV, 22: The Old Version has: *in quo factum est signum sanitatis* and the Vulgate reads: *in quo factum fuerat signum istud sanitatis.* "In whom that miraculous cure had been wrought."

12. **nec:** used for *non,* as here, *nec* is already found in Ante-class. writers, Plaut., Enn., and Acc. In Class. Latin we find it in legal phraseology; it is also occasionally found in the poets and Post-class. writers. Cf. St.-Schm., 636.

13. positus — ὤν. Cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

Section 11.

1. **Sirmium:** Modern Mitrovitz, was an important city in the southeastern part of Lower Pannonia. Since the time Sirmium was made the chief depôt of military stores it kept growing until it became an outstanding city in Pannonia. Whether it ever became a Roman colony is not known. We still find extensive ruins of Sirmium about the modern town of Mitrovitz. Cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* II, 1014.

2. **episcopum Anemium:** Anemius is mentioned in the *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis contra Palladium et Secundianum Haereticos*, as being one of the many bishops who composed the above mentioned Council of Aquileia. Nothing else seems to be known of him. Cf. Ambrose, Epist. 8.

3. **Justinae . . . pelleretur . . . ordinaretur:** Justina, an Arian, was the wife of Valentinian I. After the death of Valentinian, their son Valentinian, 6 years old, his brother Gratian and his uncle Valens, jointly ruled the empire. Justina, taking advantage of the influence which her position as mother of the young emperor gave her, tried earnestly to advance the interests of the Arian sect. This brought her into collision with St. Ambrose. About 380 A. D., St. Ambrose was summoned to Sirmium to take part in the consecration of Anemius as bishop of that see. This event brought about the first contest between Justina and the holy bishop. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biogr.* III, 537.

4. **coadunata:** the word is Late Latin. Cf. Dig. 10, 4, 7: 2, 14, 9; Aur. Vict., Vit. 1; Dict., Cret. 4, 13; T. L. L. III, 1371, 4-20. The present passage is cited.

5. **de . . . pelleretur:** *pello* is construed with the abl. or with *ex* and the abl. but with *de* is found only in Plin., Hist. nat. 26, 62, is. 22, ibid. 21, 30.

6. **ab ipso:** In Class. Latin *ipse* almost always implies a contrast. This contrast is usually strong, the antecedent of *ipse* being brought into prominence while the object with which it is contrasted

sinks into the background. The use of *ipse* for *is*, as here, no doubt, owes its development to the influence of Greek αὐτός found in the Latin translations of the Greek writers. *Ipse* for *is* occurs in the earliest Patristic writers and becomes very frequent in all Late writers. Cf. Meader, 184-188.

7. **ab ipsis:** for **ab eis.** See above, n. 6.

8. **de . . . pelleretur:** for *pello* with *de* and the abl., cf. n. 5, above.

9. **audiuit . . . "Etsi . . . eueniat":** *audio* followed by a direct statement occurs in Class. Latin but is by no means common. Cf. Cato frag. Gell. 13, 18, 67, 4; Cic. Vatin. 19; Phil. 13, 30; Tusc. 2, 32; Hor. Epist. 2, 2, 151; Sat. 2, 6, 20; Ovid. Met. 2, 429; Cels. 4, 7, 130. Cf. T. L. L. II, 1267, 11-39.

10. **solitus erat:** cf. my comment on this in Sec. 9, n. 9.

11. **non . . . uel:** The combination of *non . . . uel* for *nec . . . nec* or *neque . . . neque* is Poetic. Cf. St.-Schm., 502.

12. **in qualemcunque sacerdotem manus inicere:** *Inicere* followed by *in* with the acc. is Late Latin. The regular construction is two accusatives. Cf. K.-Schm., 1, 745.

13. **unde:** used here in the sense of *igitur*. Cf. Sec. 2, n. 5.

14. **in ordinando episcopo:** The ablative of the gerund or gerundive construction with a temporal force is seldom found in Cic. but becomes frequent from Livy on. Cf. K.-Steg., II, 1, 753; St.-Schm., 447.

CHAPTER IV.

Section 12.

1. **innumeras:** Poetic and Post-class. Cf. Tac., Ann. 14, 53; Suet., Caes., 68; Calig., 26; Galba, 6; Just., 2, 9, 17. The Class. expression is *innumerabilis*.

2. **sed:** for et, cf. Sec. 5, n. 1.

3. **de ecclesia raptum:** *rapere* with *de* and the abl. instead of *ex* and the abl. is Poetic and Post-class.

4. **praesulę:** in the sense of "protector," "ruler," as here, is

Late Latin. Originally it meant the leader of the Salii in the annual religious dance. Later it was used to designate the leader of an organization and finally among the Christians it was even applied to a pope or a bishop. Cf. K.-Schm., s. v.: *praesultator;* Archiv., XII, 7-8; McGuire, *De Nabuthae,* 141.

5. **perficere non ualerent:** *ualeo* with the inf. is first cited for Lucretius and then for almost all the poets except Catullus and Tibullus. We do not find it among the Class. prose writers and even the Post-class. writers do not use it frequently. It occurs in Colum. Curtius, Vitruv., Suet., and Pliny the elder, and also in Late Latin literature. Cf. St.-Schm. 424; K.-Schm. II, 712.

6. **Euthymius:** Nothing is to be found concerning Euthymius except that he was a convert and lived at Milan about 390 A. D. Cf. Tillemont, X, 166.

7. **superpositum:** Post-class. Cf. Liv. 1, 34; Suet., Claud. 20; Col. 1, 5, 4.

8. **carpento:** found frequently among the poets is cited first for Livy in prose. Cf. T. L. L. III, 489, 56 ff. The present passage is cited.

9. Ps. VII, 17: Both the Old Version and the Vulgate read: . . . *et in uerticem eius iniquitas eius descendet.* "And his iniquity shall come down upon his head."

10. **de eadem domo:** *de* to express separation after verbs which usually take *ab* in Class. Latin is frequently met with in Late Latin.

11. **destinatus est:** used in the sense of *missus est,* cf. Sec. 6, n. 7.

12. **dirigeretur:** in the sense of "to be sent," "taken," as here, mostly Late Latin. Cf. Manil. 4, 323; Novatian., trin. 29; Maximin., c. Ambr. 136; Jul. Val. 2, 12; Cod. Theod. 8, 5, 18; Aur. Viet., epit. 34, 2. Cf. T. L. L., V, 1246, 28 ff.; K.-Schm., s. v.

13. **dando sumptus:** the abl. of the gerund without a preposition followed by a direct object is found to some extent in Class. Latin but becomes common only in Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm., 442.

Section 13.

1. **mulieris:** Justina, the empress.

2. **basilicam Portianam:** The Portian basilica was a church without the walls of Milan, mentioned by St. Ambrose himself in Letter XX, where he tells his sister Marcellina that the Arians no longer demand the Portian basilica but the new basilica which is within the walls. In this letter he describes to her how the basilica had been by occupied by soldiers, who, however, fraternized with the Catholics. He also gives a sketch of his sermon on that occasion, comparing the trials of the people to those of Job. **basilicam . . . inuadere:** *inuadere* with the acc. without *in* is Poetic and Late Latin. Cf. K.-Steg., II, 1, 334.

3. **dimitterent:** is used here in the sense of *permittere.* For a similar expression cf. Esdr. 6, 7; *et dimittite fieri templum Dei.* Cf. Kaulen, 178; T. L. L. V, 1215, 55 ff.

4. **plebem:** in the sense of "congregation," cf. Sec. 6, n. 12.

5. **nec:** *ne . . . quidem.*

6. **Hoc . . . coeperunt:** Ambrose, seeing that the spirits of the people, closed in the basilica, were beginning to flag, tried to occupy their minds by frequent psalmody. Being a poet as well as an orator, he composed in simple but sweet melody aspirations of the human soul after God and ordered the depressed congregation to sing them antiphonically. Ambrose, by this introduction of the hymns into the liturgical service, enriched and developed it according to the manner of the oriental custom. This custom spread from Milan through all the Western Churches. There was much controversy as to what hymns St. Ambrose actually composed and four hymns: *Aeterne rerum Conditor, Deus Creator omnium, Iam surgit hora tertia, Veni Redemptor gentium* are vouched for as authentic by historical evidence and especially by the testimony of St. Augustine, Conf. IX, 7.

These hymns are composed in iambic dimeters and arranged in strophes of four verses each. The meter is scrupulously correct and the diction, lucid and simple, is elevated and grave.

It has been belived that in 387, on the occasion of the baptism

of St. Augustine by St. Ambrose, both sang alternately the canticle, *Te Deum Laudamus*. However, it is certain now that this hymn is not the work of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, but that it has been a well-known hymn in the early part of the sixth century. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* I, 392; Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* I, 95.

antiphonae . . . hymni: *antiphonae:* ἀντίφωνος, a Greek borrowed word taken over in Late Latin. Cf. T. L. L. II, 172, 82 ff. *hymni:* ὕμνος, occurs as early as Sen. (Frg. 88) but its frequency is confined to Late Latin, meaning a "song of praise to God," as here. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v., also McGuire, *De Nabuthae*, 203.

7. **in tempore:** *in* with the abl. to express time when, or during which, is almost a rule in eccl. Latin. It is also found so used among the poets and Post-class. writers. Cf. Salonius, 131; St.-Schm., 388.

8. **deuotio:** in the sense of "devotion," as here, is eccl. Latin. Cf. T. L. L. V, 879, 19 ff.

9. **usque in:** and *usque ad* meaning "until," "to," are Post-class. and Poetic usages. Cf. K.-Schm., II, 699; Draeger, 1, 598; K.-Steg., II, 1, 565.

CHAPTER V.

Section 14.

1. **martyres:** μάρτυρ, eccl. Latin.

2. **sancti martyres Protasius et Geruasius:** St. Gervase and Protase, brothers, sons of Vitalis and Valeria, suffered martyrdom in Milan either under Nero or Domitian. About 300 A. D., the memory of these martyrs faded away and St. Augustine tells us in his *Conf.* (IX, 7), in the *City of God* (XXII, 8), and in Sermons 286, *in natal. SS. MM. Geru. et Prot.* and 318, that God revealed to St. Ambrose by a vision in a dream the place where their bodies lay. Concerning the vision, the subsequent discovery of the relics, and the accompanying miracles, St. Ambrose wrote to his sister Marcellina (Letter XXII). Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II, 666-667.

3. **reuelauerunt:** in the sense of "revel," as here, is Post-class.

4. **Naboris et Felicis:** SS. Nabor and Felix owe their celebrity in the universal Church to St. Ambrose, who, about a century after their martyrdom, solemnly translated and enshrined their bodies in Milan. A church, which today bears the name of St. Francis, was built over their tomb and here they are honored to this day. It is believed that they suffered about 304 in Milan under Maximian Hercules. Their feast is celebrated July 12. Cf. Boll. *Acta SS.* 12 July III, 291; Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 1. Cf. also Letter XX of St. Ambrose in which he mentions the burial places of these martyrs.

5. **celeberrime frequentabantur:** for a similar expression, cf. Cic., Verr. 2, 3, 58, 133: *in foro celeberrimo, tanta frequentia.*

6. **in tantum:** *in* followed by neuter adjectives, e. g., *in tantum, in quantum,* for *tantum, quantum,* etc., is found in the writers of the Post-class. period only, e. g., Vellius, Seneca and frequently in Tacitus. These forms are also employed by the Late Latin writers. Cf. K.-Schm., I, 702; St.-Schm., 413.

7. **aegritudines:** In Ciceronian philosophy a distinction is made between *aegrotatio* and *aegritudo,* the former denoting physical disease, the latter mental disease. Cf. K.-Schm., I, 110. This distinction is not maintained here.

8. **Seuerus:** Severus was a citizen of Milan, well known to the whole town. He had been a butcher but was obliged, by the loss of his sight, to give up his trade. This miracle of Severus regaining his sight is related also by St. Ambrose (Letter XXII to his sister St. Marcellina) and by St. Augustine (Serm. 286, *De Civ. Dei* XX, 8 and *Conf.* IX, 7). Cf. Smith and Wace, IV, 633. s. v. Severus (10).

9. **usque in:** cf. Sec. 13, n. 9.

10. **basilica quae dicitur Ambrosiana:** The Basilica Ambrosiana was a church within the walls of Milan. The present cathedral of Milan stands upon the site of the primitive episcopal church which St. Ambrose, in writing to his sister St. Marcellina, calls the "Grand Basilica." The Church of St. Ambrose survived until the middle of the fifth century. In 452 it was destroyed by the

ferocious Attila, when he ravished the fairest portions of Gaul, as well as Pannonia and Venetia, and with fire and sword penetrated into the southern portions of Italy.

The cathedral of Milan, which had been rebuilt, was again destroyed by fire in 1075. It was for the third time rebuilt in 1162. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* I, 388.

11. **spiritibus immundis:** *immundis* in the sense of impure, as here, is found in Class. Latin only in Cic. Att. 9, 10, 2. We do, however, find it in Ante- and Post-class. writers and the poets for *sordidus, horridus* and *incomptus*. *Spiritus immundis* is especially frequent among the eccl. writers meaning "the evil spirit." Cf. K.-Schm. I, 688.

12. **repetebant:** in the sense of "return," etc. as here, is Poetic and Post-class. For the same phrase, cf. Hor. Od. 1, 15, 6; Ovid. Pont. 4, 4, 41; id. Met. 3, 204.

13. **in quantum . . . in tantum:** for *quantum . . . tantum*, cf. Sec. 14, n. 6.

Section 15.

1. **persecutio:** in the sense of "persecution," as here, eccl. Latin.

2. **de ecclesia pelleretur:** for *pello* with *de* and abl., cf. Sec. 11, n. 5.

3. **intra:** for *in*. This use of *intra* for *in* is found in Class. Latin but is rare. Cf. K.-Steg., II, 1, 549.

4. **palatium:** in the sense of "palace," as here, mostly Poetic. Cf. Ov., A. A. 3, 119; Juv. 9, 23; Vulg., 3 Reg. 16, 18 et saep.

5. **conferre dignatus est:** *dignari* with the inf. instead of *ut* and the subjunctive was first used by the Aug. poets and continued in Post-class. and Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm., 422. *dignatus est:* i. e. *digneri* is mostly Poetic. Cf. T. L. L. V, 1141, 1-14.

6. **Iudaeico ore:** for *Iudaeorum*. Cf. Sec. 7, n. 6.

7. **illi . . . isti:** cf. Sec. 7, n. 8.

8. **dicebant, quoniam . . . daemonia:** The use of *quod, quia,* and *quoniam* after verbs of thinking and saying followed by a finite

mood instead of the accusative infinitive construction is a characteristic of Late Latin and especially of eccl. Latin. Probably the translations from Greek in use in the primitive Church exercised considerable influence on the use of *quod* and *quia* after verbs of saying and thinking, etc. The mood used in these constructions seems to be determined by the intention of the writer, the indicative expressing a direct affirmation or denial, the subjunctive the thought of another, or the writer's own thought indirectly expressed. Cf. St.-Schm., 540-541; Salonius, 299-310; K.-Steg. II, 2, 274-275.

9. **Luke XI, 15.**

10. **uel:** for *et,* cf. Sec. 3, n. 4.

11. **loquebantur, quod . . . pellerentur, sed . . . mentirentur:** for *loquor* followed by *quod* and a finite mood instead of the acc. inf. construction, cf. note 8, above.

12. **clamabant . . . "Scimus martyres":** The employment of *clamo* followed by direct discourse is mostly Poetic. Cf. T. L. L. III, 1251, 70 ff.

13. **et:** in the meaning "also," "too," common from Livy on, and especially frequent in Late writers. Cf. St.-Schm., 495; Draeger, II, 30; K.-Steg. II, 2, 8-9; K.-Schm. I, 520.

14. **dixerunt . . . ad Dominum:** the use of *ad* with *dico,* cf. Sec. 10, n. 9.

15. Mark I, 24: Both the Old Version and the Vulgate read: *Scio qui sis, Sanctus Dei.* "I know who Thou art, the Holy One of God."

16. Joh. IX, 29: The Old Version and the Vulgate read: *hunc autem nescimus unde sit,* differing from our author only in word order and in having *hunc* for *hic.*

17. **unde:** used here in the sense of *igitur.* Cf. Sec. 2, n. 5.

18. **uel:** for *et,* cf. Sec. 3, n. 4.

Section 16.

1. **perfidis:** used here in its Christian sense of "heretics."

2. **itaque:** In Early and Class. Latin *itaque* usually stands first in the sentence. Lucretius is the first to make it postpositive, and is followed by Cornificius and Horace. There is a tendency in Late Latin to keep the postpositive position of *itaque*. Cf. K.-Steg., II, 2, 130. *Itaque* occurs twelve times in the *Vita* and is always postpositive.

3. **crederent in Trinitatis unitatem:** The use of *credere* with *in* and the accusative in the sense of "believe in" is confined to eccl. Latin. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 1149, 27 ff. *Trinitatis unitatem:* for the same phrase, cf. Ambrose, *De Excessu Fratr.* 1, 4: *trinitatis totius unitatem:* also Aug., *De Catech. Rudibus*, 25: *ipsius trinitatis unitatem. trinitatis* is Late Latin and *unitatem* is Post-class.

4. **agere paenitentiam:** For the same expression cf. Quint. Inst. 9, 3, 12: *eo usque processum est, ut non paeniturum pro non acturo paenitentiam dixerit. paenitentiam:* Post-class. Cf. Liv. 31, 32; Tac., A. 1, 45.

5. **homicidium:** Post-class.

6. **humilitatis:** in the sense of "humility," as here, eccl. Latin. Cf. K.-Schm., s. v., *humilis.*

7. **coram:** *Coram* as a prep. with persons is not common in Post-class. or even Late Latin; its usage as a prep. in general, is not frequent. Cf. Draeger, I, 645; T. L. L. IV, 945, 35 ff.; K.-Steg. II, 1, 511; St.-Schm. 410.

Section 17.

1. **de haeresi Arianorum:** *De* frequently takes over the special meaning of *ex*, to denote source or origin of a person or thing or their names. This occurs in poetry, sometimes in Class. and Post-class. prose, but becomes common among Late Latin writers. Cf. St.-Schm., 407; K.-Steg., II, 1, 499; Draeger, 627; Gabarrou, 123.

2. **inconuertibilis:** Eccl. Latin. It is first cited for Tert. but with the meaning of "immovable," "unchangeable"; here, it is

used in the sense of "one who cannot be converted." Cf. Benoit-Goelzer, s. v. and Georges, s. v.

3. **postmodum:** post-class. for class. *postea.* Cf. Liv. 1, 9, 15; Suet., Calig. 15; Val. Max., 2, 9, 9.

Section 18.

1. **de haeresi Arianorum:** for *de* in the place of *ex,* cf. Sec. 17, n. 1.

2. **Incarnatione:** in the sense of the "Incarnation of the Lord," eccl. Latin. Cf. Benoit-Goelzer, s. v.

3. **alio die:** Apparently *alio die* here is the same as *altero die* above. Class. Latin distinguishes carefully, except for a few isolated examples in Cicero and Caesar, in the use of *alius* and *alter,* but from Livy on, the substitution of the one for the other becomes common, especially in Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm., 629; K.-Schm. I, 143-146; T. L. L. I, 1626, 84 ff.

4. **homines superbiae tumore:** appositional genitive. Cf. Sec. 1, n. 17.

5. **dominicorum:** for the genitive of the noun, cf. Sec. 7, n. 6.

6. Matth. XVIII, 6: The Old Version reads: *Qui autem scandalizauerit unum de pusillis istis, qui in me credunt, expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo eius et praecipitetur in profundum maris.* "But he that shall scandalize one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the depth of the sea." The Vulgate agrees with the Old Version except for *demergatur* instead of *praecipitetur.* Paulinus's quotation differs considerably from both the Old Version and the Vulgate.

7. **gestare:** is confined chiefly to the poets and to Post-class. prose.

gratia gestandi: for the same expression, cf. Gai., Inst. 3, 196; *equus gestandi gratia commodatum.*

8. **ciuitatem egressi sunt:** for *egredior* construed with the acc., cf. sec. 7, n. 1.

9. **uel:** for *et*, cf. Sec. 3, n. 4.

10. **horresco referens:** for the same expression, cf. Verg., A. 2, 204; *horresco referens.*

11. **corpora . . . sepulturae sunt tradita:** for a similar expression, cf. Just. 9, 4, 4; *corpora sepulturae reddidit.*

12. **ignoraret quod factum esest:** for *quod* and a finite verb after *ignorare*, cf. Sec. 15, n. 8.

13. **plebem:** "the Christian people," "the people of a Christian parish." Cf. Benoit-Goelzer, s. v. and Sec. 6, n. 12.

14. **fuerat proposita:** for *erat proposita*, cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

15. **dicens:** introducing scriptural quotations is practically stereotyped in eccl. Latin. Cf. McGuire, *De Nabuthae*, 136.

16. **et reliqua:** Late Latin. Cf. Vop. Firm. (5 fin.) for the same expression.

17. **de Incarnatione Domini:** This treatise is found in the Benedictine Edition under the title *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento, opera Omnia Ambrosii* 815-846. That it is the work which Paulinus refers to we know from the opening words of the treatise "*Debitum, fratres, cupio soluendum, sed hesternos meos non inuenio creditores,* which are the exact words that Paulinus quotes in the *Vita* as the opening words of the sermon of St. Ambrose. This undoubtedly is the strongest proof for the authenticity of the *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento.* Cf. Shanz VIII, iv, 1, 346-347; Bardenhewer, III, 535.

18. **titulatur:** in the sense of "entitled," Late. Cf. Goelzer (J.), 172; *ausus fuit scribere euangelium et suo illud nomine titulare.* The Class. expression is *inscribere.* Cf. Cic., Tusc. 1, 57: *in illo libro, qui inscribitur Menon;* id., div. 2, 1: *eo libro qui est inscriptus Hortensius.* Cf. K.-Schm., s. v.

CHAPTER VI.

Section 19.

1. **itaque:** for the position of *itaque,* cf. Sec. 16, n. 2.

2. **Gratiano imperatore:** Flavius Gratianus Augustus, Roman emperor from 375-383, was the oldest son of Valentinian I. At the age of nine he was named Augustus by his father and in 375 succeeded his father to the throne. His reign is a noteworthy epoch in Church History. He was the first to refuse the robe and title of *Pontifex Maximus* and became active in suppressing heathen worship by confiscating the revenues of the priests and vestal virgins, together with the landed property of the temples. He removed the altar of the goddess of Victory from the hall of the senate and reduced the immunities of the pagan priests. These alternations, especially the removal of the altar of Victory, occasioned great commotion among the pagans. Shortly after this the emperor lost his life at the hands of the usurper Maximus. He was then but twenty-four years old.

The Relations of St. Ambrose and Gratian had been always tender and affectionate and it was for the latter that St. Ambrose wrote his great treatise, *De Fide.* Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II, 721-727.

3. **Maximum:** Maximus Magnus Clemens, a native of Spain, is variously represented to us,—as the comrade, general, and butler of the emperor. He was proclaimed emperor by the legions in Britain in 383, and at the head of his army crossed into Gaul and attacked Gratian whom he defeated near Paris, and finally had slain near Lyons. Maximus next turned his eyes to the possession of Italy which was ruled by Valentinian. The latter fled to Constantinople to register the help of Theodosius. Meanwhile, Maximus entered Milan and Rome in triumph and consequently all Italy submitted without a struggle.

Maximus remained emperor until 388, when Theodosius, coming to the aid of Valentinian, and avenging the death of his colleague, took Aquileia by storm and there had Maximus decapitated. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* II, 996-997.

4. **Valentinianum iuniorem:** Valentinian II, son of Valentinian I and brother of Gratian, was emperor, from 375-392, however, he was all these years but merely a nominal ruler, for while Gratian ruled in the East, Maximus had control of most of the West; Italy was the only portion left to Valentinian. After the death of Justina, his Arian mother, Valentinian abandoned Arianism, became a catechumen and invited St. Ambrose to come to Gaul to administer baptism to him. He was not spared to receive it however, as he died before St. Ambrose could reach him. There are different accounts of his death but the most probable is that he was strangled by the order of Arbogast, his general, under whose evil influence he fell after the death of Justina. His body was brought to Milan, where St. Ambrose delivered his funeral oration, *De Obitu Valentiniani consolatio*, speaking among other things, about the efficacy of the baptism of desire. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 1074-1075; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* III, 1210-1211.

5. **iuniorem:** *iunior* for *minor natu* is Late Latin. Cf. K.-Schm., s. v. *iunior.*

6. **illam:** probably for *eam.*

7. **prolixitas:** Late Latin. Cf. App., de Mundo, 60, 21; Arnob., 7, 250; Symm., Ep. 2, 8.

8. **legenti:** this pres. part., as a subst., is Poetic and Post-class. for *lector.* Cf. Ov., Tr. 1, 7, 25; Quint. 3, 1, 2; Plin. 8, 16, 17; Tac., A. 4, 33.

9. **communionis consortio:** *communio* in the sense of "Holy Eucharist," as here, is eccl. Latin, cited first for Hil. Myst. 5, 8. Cf. T. L. L. III, 1965, 22-55. *consortium* in the present sense of "partaking" is first cited for Sen. Dial. 10, 14, 2; hence, Post-class. For the same expression, cf. Ambros. Paenit. 1, 13, 60: *ut tolleretur a consortio communionis.* Cf. T. L. L. IV, 488, 32-70.

Section 20.

1. **Innocentius:** Not mentioned elsewhere. Cf. Smith and Wace, s. v. Innocentius (31). *Innocentius nomine, non tamen opere:* note the figure of antimetathesis.

2. **angelo . . . eo:** Hyperbaton.

3. **cacumen . . . conscendens:** for *conscendo* with the acc., cf. Sec. 7, n. 5 and T. L. L. IV, 361, 47 ff., where the present passage is cited.

4. **sacrificauerit:** we would expect a pluperfect subjunctive, as the sequence is secondary.

5. **maligna:** Poetic and Post-class. Cf. Horat., S. 1, 5, 4; Juv. 10, 111; Sen., Vit. Beat. 18; Ov., M. 10, 329.

6. **circa:** for *erga,* cf. Sec. 9, n. 3.

7. **internecarent:** Ante-class. and Late Latin. Cf. Plaut., Am. 1, 1, 34, 6; Amm. 23, 6, 50; Prud., prooem. Apoth. 61.

8. **nec** = *ne . . . quidem.*

9. **quia:** for *quia,* cf. Sec. 1, n. 11.

10. **insuperabilis:** mostly poetic, Livy, 21, 23, being the first to use it in prose. Cf. Verg., 4 A., 40; Ov., 12 M., 613; Plin., 2 Ep., 2; Ambros., Off. I, 178.

11. **omne:** for *totum.*

12. **positi:** for *positus* = *ὄν,* cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

13. **eleuasset:** the shortened forms of the perfect of *eleuare* are noted in N. Wagner almost entirely for the Vulgate, the first citation for the pres. form *eleuasset* being given as Genes. 24, 63; Num. 20, 11. Cf. N. W. Register.

Section 21.

1. **direxisset:** *dirigere* is used here in the sense of *mittere.* Cf. Sec. 12, n. 12.

2. **timens . . . perduci:** *timeo* is employed with the inf. in Ante-class. Latin, rarely in Cicero, oftener in Livy and Late Latin. Cf. K.-Steg., II, 2, 255; St.-Schm., 423.

3. **egressus de Mediolano:** for *egressus ex Mediolano.* The regular construction with *egredi* is the abl. with *ex* or *ab,* or *extra* with the acc. *De nauibus egredi* (B. Afr. 11, 2), is the only ex-

ample cited for the Class. Period of *egredi* with *de*. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 369.

4. **exorcistis:** an exorcist is one whose office it was to cast out devils; and he received the right to use the solemn formulae of the Church for that purpose. In the Western Church it was the second of the four minor orders, while in the Eastern Church the order of exorcist has never been established.

In 398, the fourth Council of Carthage prescribes the rite of ordination for exorcist, which rite has been retained until the present day. Gradually, as conditions changed in the Church, the office of exorcist ceased altogether and was taken over by the clerics in major orders. In our times only priests are authorized to use the exorcising power.

Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* V, 711-712. The word *exorcista* is Late. It is cited first for Cod. Just. 1, 3, 6.

5. **ideo:** as a conclusive particle, is confined to Ante-, Post-class. and Late Latin. It becomes frequent in later writers. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 146; St.-Schm. 597.

6. **ad tempus:** meaning "for the time being," "temporarily," although found in Cicero, is rare in the Class. period. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 521. For a similar expression, cf. Cic., Off. 1, 8, 27: *quae (perturbatis animis) plerumque brevis est ac ad tempus;* also Liv. 28, 42, 5: *dux ad tempus lectus.*

CHAPTER VII.

Section 22.

1. **posito . . . Aquileiae:** note the asyndeton.

2. **constituto** = ὄν: The use of the perf. part. *constitutus* for the present part. of *esse* is Late Latin and has a widespread usage. We also find *positus*, Sec. 1, n. 5, used in the same sense of ὄν. Cf. Svennung, 141, also T. L. L. IV, 523, 45 ff. Note the example from Orosius (7, 15, 12): *postremo in Pannonia constitutus repentino morbo diem obiit.*

3. **Aquileiae:** Aquileia, situated at the head of the Adriatic,

was founded by the Romans in 182 B. C. as a bulwark against the northern barbarians. It was made one of the strongest fortresses of the Romans and, due to its position, it became a most flourishing commercial center. Aquileia for many centuries was the seat of a famous Western patriarchate, for which reason it plays an important rôle in ecclesiastical history.

Tradition tells us that St. Mark, sent thither by St. Peter, founded this see of which St. Hermagoras is considered the first bishop. In the fourth century this city was the chief ecclesiastical center for the region about the head of the Adriatic. In 381 it was the seat of a famous council held against the Arians attended by thirty-two or (twenty-four) bishops.

Aquileia was taken and completely destroyed by Attila in 452 A. D., its inhabitants escaping to the Lagoons, where Venice was later built. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* I, 661-662.

4. **in partibus orientis:** *partes* = *regio, terra, locus* is Late Latin. The genitive depending on *partes* and which has the character of partitive gen. is also a Late Latin development. For a fuller treatment of *partes* = *regio* etc. and the genitive depending on it, cf. Salonius 96-97.

5. **synagoga:** Late Latin.

6. **incendio concremata sunt:** Pleonasm. *concremata:* the verb *concremare* is Post-class. Cf. Liv. 3, 53, 5; Suet., Calig. 15; Plin. 12, 18, 41. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 92, 81 ff.

7. **Valentinianorum haeresis triginta deos colit:** Valentinians, the best known and most influential Gnostic heretics, had their origin with Valentinus. Probably born in Egypt, trained in Hellenistic science in Alexandria, he remained in Rome for about fifteen years trying to establish his heretical system, as a result of which he was excommunicated. He resumed his activities in Cyprus and died here about 160 or 161.

Valentinus believed and taught that the Primal Being, or Bythos, after ages of silence and contemplation, gave rise to other beings by a process of emanation. The aeons, or the first series of beings, were thirty in number, representing fifteen syzygies, or pairs, sexually complementary. Through the sin of Sophia, one of the low-

est aeons, the lower world was brought into existence. Man was considered the highest being in the lower world and the work of redemption was to free the higher, or spiritual, from the servitude of the lower, which redemption was to be brought about by Christ and the Holy Ghost. Valentinus had many disciples even during his lifetime and his heresy spread through Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Italy, and Southern Gaul. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XV, 256.

8. **sed:** for *et*, cf. Sec. 5, n. 1.

9. **ad imperatorem relationem direxit:** Cf. Letter XL of St. Ambrose to Theodosius, in which he discusses the decision respecting the restoration of the Jewish synagogue. He also touches on the temple of the Valentinians, whom he declares to be worse than the heathens. *direxit:* in the sense of "sent," cf. Sec. 12, n. 12.

10. **reaedificaretur:** eccl. Latin. Cf. Tert., adv. Marc. 5, 3; Jerome, Ep. 108, 9; Vulg., Marc. 15, 29.

11. **tenor:** mostly Poetic and Post-class. It occurs once in Cic. Orat. 21. Cf. Liv. 7, 40, 9; Quint. 10, 7, 6; Dig. 9, 2, 56; Verg., A. 10, 340; Ov., M. 3, 113. Cf. McGuire, *De Nabuthae*, 234-235.

12. **ad aures peruenisset:** for the same expression, cf. Civ., Verr. 2, 4, 28, 64: *peruenit res ad istius aures.*

13. **direxit:** — *misit.*

14. **in tempore:** cf. Sec. 13, n. 7.

15. **illum conuenit ut . . . reuocaretur:** The personal use of *conuenire* with the acc. *admonere aliquem* is confined to late Latin. The usage of a final clause introduced by *ut* or *ne* after the verb in this sense is, naturally, also Late. Cf. T. L. L. Vol. IV, 828, 58 ff.

16. **statum fuerat:** for *statutum erat.* Cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

17. **uel . . . aut:** Due to the confusion between the terms *aut* and *uel* in Post-class. prose, we find *uel . . . aut* or *aut . . . uel* for *aut . . . aut* as early as the Aug. poets. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 110; St.-Schm. 502.

18. **dissimulatione:** in the sense of "negligence," as here, is

Late Latin. Cf. Veg., Mil. 1, 7; Heges. 5, 16 vers. 72; cf. T. L. L. V, 1497, 70 ff.

19. **praeuaricatorem:** in the sense of "apostate," eccl. Latin.

Section 23.

1. **posito:** in the sense of "being present," cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

2. **tractatu:** in the sense of "sermon," as here, eccl. Latin.

3. **Ego . . . mysteria:** Note the highly rhetorical quality of this passage.

4. **triumphare . . . feci:** for *facio* with inf. cf. Sec. 7, n. 2.

5. **exedra:** *exedra* originally was an alcove in a Greek gymnasium where philosophers sat to talk with their disciples. Later, a conversation hall furnished with seats was called an *exedra.* We also read of a place leading out of a portico where philosophers and rhetoricians debated or addressed the people as being termed *exedra.* Cicero had a little *exedra* built in his house at Tusculum and from him we learn that people liked to furnish the *exedra* with couches, where they were accustomed to take their afternoon siesta. How it came to be used in connection with the Christian Church is uncertain. It is probable, though we have no evidence of this, that among the Christians it was a custom to call *exedra* that part of the basilica which was separated from the main hall of the edifice and which later gave birth to the apse of the basilica, and finally from this developed the choir furnished with stalls for the clergy or the dignitaries.

Exedra was also a name given to a little isolated semi-circular construction more or less decorated, sometimes sheltered, found here and there in cities. Perhaps it is then from the latter that the *exedra* took its form and name, since in the early Christian basilicas a semi-circular construction covered by a canopy, beautifully decorated, was called an *exedra.* Cf. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et De Liturgie* V, 951; *Cath. Encycl.* V, 692.

6. **fuisse locutum:** for *esse locutum,* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

7. **statuta fuerant:** for *statuta erant,* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

8. **respondit:** *respondeo*, like *dico*, followed by a direct statement is frequent in Late Latin.

9. **mysteria:** in the sense of "divine mysteries," as here, eccl. Latin.

10. **haec . . . epistola:** Cf. Letter XLI of Ambrose to his sister Marcellina, in which he himself relates the circumstances and the scene, telling her also of his sermon before the Emperor and his refusal to celebrate Holy Mass until the Emperor had promised to recall the order. *Ergo ago fide tua? Age fide mea,* are the very expressions found in this letter and which Paulinus quotes in the *Vita.*

11. **de baculo . . . discribitur:** For the allusion, cf. Jerem. I, 11. (Old Version): *Quid tu uides Jeremia? Baculum nuceum. . . .* The Greek has the same. The Vulgate, however, reads: *Quid tu uides, Jeremia? Et dixi: uirgam uigilantem ego uideo.* "What seest thou, Jeremias? and I said: I see a rod watching." **baculo** is a Post-class. and rare word. For the same expression, cf. Oros. (Hist. 7, 36, 7) 23: *de baculo numeo Hieremiae.* Cf. T. L. L. II, 1670, 52 ff.

Section 24.

1. **causa Thessalonicensis ciuitatis:** *causa* is regularly post-positive in Class. Latin. However, in individual cases as En. A. 319; Ter. Eun. 202; Livy, 44, 41, 11, also 40, 44, 10, and frequently in Late Latin, we find it before the genitive case. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 422 A. 8; St.-Schm. 379, A. 1; T. L. L. III, 681, 52 ff.

2. **tribulatio:** eccl. Latin.

3. **usque in:** cf. Sec. 13, n. 9.

4. **sacramentorum communione:** in the sense of "participation in sacraments," as here, eccl. Latin. For the same phrase, cf. Greg. M. Epist. 3, 7: *communionis sacramentum . . . conseruantis.* Cf. T. L. L. III, 1965, 22-55.

5. **perpetrasse:** mostly Ante-class. and Post-class.; not in Cic. or Caes., and rare as a finite verb.

6. **publicam paenitentiam . . . abhorreret:** The details of the penance of Theodosius have been variously presented to us by the early historians, Theodoret, Rufinus, and Sozomen. What is the source of these details it is difficult to state but some modern critics are inclined to believe that the statement of Paulinus: "he refused the emperor any opportunity for entering the church" (*copiam imperator ingrediendi ecclesiam denegauit*), is responsible for the existing legend that St. Ambrose forbade Theodosius to set foot within the church, "who in all probability," as De Labriolle (*St. Ambroise,* 145) writes, "did no more than freely paraphrase Letter 51 of St. Ambrose." The whole question of the Penance of Theodosius is discussed by Mannix, Sr. M. Dolorosa, *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de obitu Theodosii,* 9-21, where this passage of Paulinus also receives due consideration. In the latter we find a brief synopsis of the incident, the account of the early historians and the testimony of St. Ambrose himself. **abhorrere:** with the accusative is found once in Cic. *Pro Cluentis,* 41, Suet. Aug. 83, and then becomes frequent among the poets and Late writers. Cf. T. L. L. I, 77, 58 ff.

7. **profectus:** Poetic and Post-class.

Section 25.

1. **usque in:** cf. Sec. 13, n. 9.

2. **alia die:** = on the next day. For *alia* = *altera,* cf. Sec. 18, n. 3. *Dies* is always masculine in the plural and commonly so in the singular, but when *dies* is accompanied by *certa, stata, statuta, constituta,* and *praestituta* it is used in the fem. by Cicero and Caesar. Livy makes *dies* feminine after the prep. *ante, ad, post* and *ex.* Cf. K.-Schm. 1, 443; T. L. L. V, 1023, 68 ff., and 1032, 50 ff.

3. **ualefacientes:** Late Latin. Cf. Aug., Ep. 65; App., M. 4. 150, 24. Cf. also Georges for further citations of the word (the present passage is cited).

4. **propria:** for the poss. pronoun, cf. Sec. 9, n. 8.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Section 26.

1. **egresso . . . de Italia:** for *egredi* with *de* and abl., cf. Sec. 21, n. 3.

2. **constituto:** on *constitutus* = ὤν, cf. Sec. 22, n. 4.

3. **intra = in.** Cf. Sec. 15, n. 3.

4. **posito:** on *positus* = ὤν, cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

5. **directa:** = *missa*, cf. Sec. 12, n. 12.

6. **sub nomine senatus:** in the sense of "in the name of the Senate," the Class. expression would be the abl. without any preposition. Cf. K.-Schm. 2, 154.

7. **Symmacho:** Aurelius Q. Symmachus, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century A. D., was a distinguished scholar, statesman, and orator. He held the office of quaestor, praetor, corrector of Lucania and Bruttii, pro-consul of Africa, and in 383 or 384 was Prefect of the City. In 391 Theodosius raised him to the consulship. In all these offices he bore himself modestly, performed his duties with mildness, firmness, and integrity, seldom found among statesmen of his age. He was chosen by the Senate to remonstrate with Gratian and with Valentinian on the removal of the altar of Victory from the Senate but was unsuccessful and his zeal for the pagan religion involved him in no little danger and disgrace.

From the writings of Symmachus there are extant ten books of epistles which give us a remarkable picture of the circumstances and life of a Roman noble before the break-up of the empire. We also have three panegyrics on Valentinian I, and Gratian, and a number of *relationes* or official reports of Symmachus as *praefectus urbi* to the Emperor. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 749-751.

We read in the Conf. (V. 13) of St. Aug. that when the people of Milan sent a petition for a state-appointed teacher of rhetoric, Symmachus, then Prefect of Rome, sent Augustine.

8. **praefecto urbis:** The office of the Prefect of the city is one of the oldest in Rome. In the monarchical period the Prefect was the substitute of the king, while in the Republic, the two consuls when leaving the city delegated one to represent them in their absence. The Prefect was then vested with all the powers of the consuls. Under the Empire likewise, the Emperor appointed a Prefect to maintain order during his absence from the city, and finally we read that Tiberius made the *praefectus urbi* a permanent official. The chief function of this official was to maintain order in the city of Rome; hence his duties required taking charge of public gatherings at the markets, theatres and circus. Naturally, his functions concerned with police control, later acquired criminal jurisdiction, which did not, however, supplant the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. Cf. Greenidge, *The Student's Gibbon,* I, 169-170; Abbott's *Political Institutions,* 18, 246, 339, 349, 449.

9. **ara:** Even among the pagans we find a distinction between *ara* and *altare*. *Altare* was a construction raised above the earth and reserved exclusively for the worship of superior gods. *Ara,* on the other hand, designated an object of less value used in supplications and libations but not in sacrifices. *Altare* was erected to the gods and *ara* to the deceased. Finally the *ara* was absorbed in the *altare* and the *ara* disappeared entirely. Among the Christian writers we notice a tendency to use *altare* rather than *ara;* although Tertullian calls the Christian altar the *ara Dei,* however, he is the only one and has no imitators. St. Cyprian employs *altare* exclusively and all writers of the fourth century seem to be uniform in speaking of the Christian altar as *altare*. Cf. F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* I, 3155-3189.

10. **Ara Victoriae:** The Altar of Victory had its origin after the battle of Actium 29 B. C., when Augustus erected in the Senate house an altar, above which stood a statue representing Victory. In 382 Gratian ordered the removal of the famous altar of Victory and also forbade the people to contribute to the maintenance of heathen sacrifices and withdrew from the priests and vestal virgins their revenues. These measures aroused the indigation of the pagans. They sent a deputation headed by Symmachus to

remonstrate against the edicts. The party was not received by Gratian.

In 384 the pagan party in the Senate again began to hope for a repeal of the hostile measure of Gratian, and presented their plea for toleration and the restoration of the altar of Victory to Valentinian II. Again the petition availed nothing, as St. Ambrose, hearing of this, addressed a letter to the Emperor (Epist. XVII) warning him against the restoration. And in a second letter (Epist. XVIII) he gives a complete answer to the arguments of Symmachus.

In 393 Eugenius restored the altar but did not recover the confiscated revenues. The altar was finally removed by Theodosius after the downfall of Eugenius. Cf. De Labriolle, *St. Ambroise*, 35-71; Hodgkin, 1. 397, 416, 560.

11. **Sed . . . esset:** Cf. Letter XVII to Valentinian in which St. Ambrose reminds the Emperor that it is his business to defend religion, not superstition. He warns Valentinian that if he answers to the petition of the pagans he will incur the censures of the Church, and will be acting in a manner derogatory to the memory of his father and brother.

12. **dirigerentur:** in the sense of "to be sent," cf. Sec. 12, n. 12.

13. **uitam finiuit:** rarely used of a natural death, as here. It usually means "to commit suicide." Cf. K.-Schm. 594, and T. L. L. VI, 784, 57-63. For further instances of the phrase, cf. Lact., Mort. Pers. 5, 6: *Valerianus in illo dedecore uitam finiuit.* Tac., A. 1, 9: *quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo, in quo pater eius, uitam finiuisset.* Sen., Epp. 66, 43: *mors habet eundem in omnibus modum, finisse uitam.* Justin, 10, 3, 7: *uitam pariter cum regno finiuit.*

14. **Eugenius:** Formerly a rhetorician was constituted the chief secretary to the Emperor. He associated with himself Arbogast, who then had command of a division of the army, and determined to usurp the government. These two then brought about the murder of Valentinian II and Eugenius immediately assumed the supreme authority in the western parts of the empire. Theodosius hearing this hurried to Italy and in this war Eugenius was

defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death in 394. He held the power for two years. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* II, 169; *Cambridge Mediaeval Hist.,* Vol. 1, *Christian Era,* 246-247.

15. **Flauiano . . . praefecto:** Flavianus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy and Illyricum in 382-383, was a zealous pagan and strong supporter of the usurper Eugenius. He persuaded the latter to take up arms against Theodosius, assuring him of his success. It is believed by historians that Flavian perished by his own hand in the war of Eugenius against Theodosius in 394. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* s. v. Flavianus (31); Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II, 535.

16. **Arbogaste comite:** Arbogast, a Frankish general, was put in command of the troops in Gaul by Theodosius. He possessed many good qualities; he was a man of reckless courage, a master of the art of war, but he was after all a hard, rough barbarian and intensely fond of power. So having removed all those who were faithful to Valentinian II, then Emperor, caused him to be murdered and acknowledged Eugenius Emperor. Theodosius, after two years preparation, marched into Italy and in 394 defeated the usurper's troops. Eugenius was beheaded and Arbogast killed himself. Cf. *Cambridge Mediaeval Hist.,* Vol. I Christian Era, 243-246. Hodgkin I, 550-554.

17. **constitutus** = *ὄν.* Cf. Sec. 22, n. 2.

Section 27.

1. **festinato:** Post-class., the Class. expression is festinanter. Cf. Quint. 4, 2, 58; Suet., Claud. 16; Vulg., Gen. 44, 11, al. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 621, 5-25. The present passage is cited.

2. **bononiensem ciuitatem:** Bononia, modern Bologna is the principal city of the province of the same name. The history of the beginnings of Christianity in Bologna are uncertain. St. Zama is said to have been the first bishop of Bologna, who according to some was ordained about 207. It is certain, however, that the episcopate dates back to an earlier date than 207. The episcopal

see of Bologna was first subject to Milan but later it recognized the authority of the Metropolitan of Ravenna. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* II, 639-641.

3. **Fauentiam:** Modern Faenza is in the province of Ravenna. As early as 82 B. C. Faenza is mentioned in the report of the victory of Sulla over the consul Cneius Papirius Carbo. The early history of the development of Christianity is obscure. The first historically certain bishop is Constantius, who was present at a council in Rome 313, and St. Savinus is considered his predecessor. We also read of another Constantius, bishop of Faenza, who was a contemporary of St. Ambrose. The later history of Faenza does not concern us, hence we will not discuss the changes taking place in Faenza during the Middle Ages. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* V, 751.

4. **aliquantis . . . diebus:** *Aliquantus* in the plural is rare and found in later Latin. Likewise in the plural it took the place of *aliqui* and *aliquot*. For a similar use of *aliquantus* in the plural, cf. Pall. 1, 19: *aliquantis diebus*; Ampel. 13, 4: *aliquantis annibus*; Tert., adv. Marc. 3, 10: *aliquantis indignis*; Jul. Val. 3, 49: *morantus diebus aliquantis*. Cf. T. L. L. I, 1605, 35 ff.; Grandgent, 37.

5. **Tusciam:** Tuscia or ancient Etruria under the Empire formed the seventh region of Italy. Ecclesiastically, Tuscia is divided into the provinces of Florence, Pisa, Siena, archdiocese of Lucca, dioceses of Arezzo, Cortona, Montalcino, Montepulciano and Pienza. For the later history of Tuscia or Tuscany, cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XV, 103-105.

6. **magis:** for *potius*. *Magis* is used in Class. Latin to attribute a higher degree to one of two objects compared, *potius* to indicate an actual preference for one of two objects. These adverbs are frequently confused in Late Latin. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 461; K.-Schm. s. v.

7. **sacrilegi:** Post-class.

8. **et = etiam,** cf. Sec. 15, n. 13.

9. **ad eundem dedit:** In Post-class. Latin we sometimes meet *ad* or *in* with the acc. instead of the dat. after *do, mitto,* etc. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 345.

10. **de multis:** for the partitive genitive. This use of *de* is found in early Latin and colloquial speech and became very common in Late and eccl. Latin. Cf. St. Schm. 407; K.-Steg. II, 1, 425; Salonius, 89 ff.

11. **Etsi . . . tibi:** Cf. Letter LVII of St. Ambrose in which he informs the Emperor Eugenius why he absented himself from Milan. Next he reproves the Emperor for his conduct with regard to heathen worship, and then promises to treat him in the future with the same freedom as the other emperors.

12. **interna:** as a subst. in the neuter pl., Post-class. and Late. Cf. Amm. 15, 5, 23.

13. **perseueranter:** Post-class.

14. **et ueri et uiui ueneratione:** alliteration.
ueneratione: cited once for Cicero (Nat. D. 17, 45); otherwise Post-class.

15. **perseuerantius:** this comparative is quoted only for Livy, 21, 10, 7, by Neue-Wagner, II, 218.

16. **in iniuriam sacrae legis:** *in* with the acc. to express purpose or intention is rare in Class. Latin but becomes frequent from Livy on, especially in Late Latin. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 566 ff.

Section 28.

1. **Decentis:** apparently known only from this passage.

2. **Pansophius:** the only reference to this name and miracle. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 181.

3. **oratione:** in the sense of "prayer," eccl. Latin. Cf. Sec. 1, n. 14.

4. **impositione manus:** Imposition of hands is an extremely ancient custom, having come down from patriarchal times. Our Lord Himself healed at first by laying on of hands. The rite has had a secular as well as sacred usage. This custom has a very broad application, being employed by the Church not only where the sacramental rite demands it but almost in all the various blessings of persons and things. Those possessed with an evil spirit are similarly

exorcized. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* VII, 698; Cabrol, *Dict. d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, VII, 391-413. **impositio** is first cited for Varro but only in connection with imposition of names. Imposition of hands, as here, is first cited for Aug. and then for the Vulg. Cf. Benoit-Goelzer and Georges, s. v.

5. **aliquantos dies:** for the use of *aliquantus* in the plural, cf. Sec. 27, n. 4.

6. **infirmitate correptus:** for the expression cf. Just. 28, 3, 2. *infirmitate correptus:* Pallad. Hist. Mon. 1: *ualida infirmitate correptus.* Cf. T. L. L. IV, 1043, 35-52.

7. **exhalauit spiritum:** *exhalare* with *animam* or *uitam*, meaning "to die," is Poetic. For the same expression, cf. Plin. 2, 93, 95, 208: *mortiferum spiritum exhalantes.*

8. **plena fide . . . timore:** *Plenus* is regularly construed with the gen. in Class. Latin, but Late writers use either the gen. or abl. — the gen. remaining more frequent. Cf. St.-Schm. 366; K-Steg. II, 1, 441, 386; K.-Schm. 309.

9. **ablato . . . de . . . parte:** *de* used instead of *ab*, cf. Sec. 12, n. 10.

10. **positus:** — ὤν, cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

11. **fidem ipsius:** for *fidem eius*, cf. Sec. 11, n. 6.

12. **Elisaeo . . . meruit:** for the thought, cf. 4 Kings IV, 34. The Old Version reading for this verse has not been preserved. The Vulgate, which agrees closely with the Greek, reads: *Et descendit, et incubuit super puerum; posuitque os suum super os eius et oculos suos super oculos eius, et manus suas super manus eius; et incurauuit se super eum et calefacta est caro pueri.* "And he went up, and lay upon the child; and he put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes and his hands upon his hands; and he bowed himself upon him, and the child's flesh grew warm."

13. **orando:** The abl. of the gerund without a prep. is used in Class. Latin to express means or manner, but this usage is not common, the present part. being used instead. It was used extensively by Livy and Ovid, which caused its frequent use in Post-Class. and

Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm., 447 ff.; K.-Steg. II, 1, 752 ff.; H. Hagendahl, 120.

14. **per aetatis infantiam:** *per* is used here for *propter* or *ob,* to express cause or reason. This usage occurs in all periods of language but is more frequent in Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm. 405. *Aetas* used to designate a period of life, as infancy or boyhood, occurs in Plaut. Pacuv. once in Cicero and Caesar. For the same phrase, cf. Isid. Orig. 11, 2, 2: *prima aetas infantia est . . .* also Sen. Herc. f. 215: *num quid immunis fuit infantis aetas?* Cf. T. L. L. I, 1126, 29 ff.

15. **legendo:** on the use of the abl. of the gerund to express means, etc., cf. note 13 above.

Section 29.

1. **deposuit . . . merita:** Cf. St. Ambrose, *Exhortatio Virginitatis,* Liber unus, cap. I, 1-9, where an account of the two martyrs Vitalis and Agricola is given.

2. **Vitalis et Agricolae:** SS. Vitalis and Agricola were martyred during Diocletian's reign about 304. Vitalis was a slave of Agricola, a Christian, who because of the gentleness of his master became greatly attached to him and finally embraced the Christian faith. Vitalis was first executed in the amphitheatre, and after trying in vain to win over Agricola, the persecutors finally crucified him. Both martyrs were buried in a Jewish graveyard and remained there until in 393 St. Ambrose and bishop Eusebius of Bologna transferred the bodies of the martyrs to a church. St. Ambrose took a portion of the cross and the nails and some blood to Florence and placed them in the church erected by the widow Juliana. The feast of the martyrs is observed on November 4. St. Ambrose mentions the two martyrs in his oration, *Exhortatio Virginitatis,* which seems to be the only source for the lives of these two martyrs. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XV, 486; Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 1163.

3. **leuauerat:** in the sense of "to raise," as here, mostly Poetic and Post-class.

4. **exsultatio:** Post-class.

Section 30.

1. **hoc est:** for *id est*. Cf. Sec. 8, n. 5.

2. **pugnando:** on the use of the abl. of the gerund for the pres. part. cf. Sec. 28, n. 13.

3. **non paruam multitudinem manu fudit:** for a similar expression, cf. Sall., C. 7, 7: *maximas copias parua manu fuderit.*

4. **pacem firmauit:** for the same expression cf. Liv. 9, 3, 10: *firmare pacem amicitiamque*, also Verg. A. 11, 356; Curt. 10, 8, 23. The present passage is cited. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 811, 40-47.

5. **audiuit . . . diligeris:** for *audio* followed by a direct statement, cf. Sec. 11, n. 9.

6. **dicit . . . sta et stat.** Paulinus evidently had Josue in mind when he made the quotation. For the thought, cf. Josue X, 12-13. For *dico*, followed by a direct statement, cf. Sec. 23, n. 8.

7. **legentes = lectores.**

8. **et = etiam,** cf. Sec. 15, n. 13.

9. **uini minister:** the same phrase is found in Sen., Ep. 47, 7.

Section 31.

1. **de Tusciae partibus:** on *partes = regio*, etc., cf. Sec. 22, n. 4.

2. **credentem in se:** for *credo* followed by *in* and the acc. of person instead of the dat., cf. Sec. 16, n. 3.

3. Cf. Ps. CXXIV, 3. The Old Version reading: *Quia non dimisit uirgam peccatorum super sortem iustorum ut non extendant iusti in iniquitatem manus suas.* The Vulgate has: *Quia non relinquet Dominus*, otherwise the same. "For the Lord will not leave the rod of the sinners upon the lot of the just: that the just may not stretch forth their hands to iniquity."

4. **promiserat enim Arbogastes et Flauianus . . . ademerunt:** example of loose writing, plural agreement throughout the sentence except with the main verb *promiserat.*

5. **reuersi fuissent:** *reuersi essent*, cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

6. Apoc. XIII, 6. The Old Version reads: *Aperuit autem in blasphemia os suum aduersus Deum, in blasphemandum nomen eius et tabernaculum eius et eos, qui in coelo habitant,* while the Vulgate reading is: *Et aperuit os suum in blasphemias ad Deum.* "And he opened his mouth unto blasphemies against God."

7. **munera imperatoris:** i. e. Eugenius.

8. **qui . . . miscuerat:** Eugenius had consented to the restoration of the Altar of Victory.

9. **nec = et non.**

10. **de caelo iaculatus est iudicium:** For the thought, cf. Psalm LXXV, 9: The Old Version has: *De caelo iactasti iudicium,* which is a literal rendering of the Greek. The Vulgate reads: *De caelo auditum fecisti iudicium.* "Thou hast caused judgment to be heard from heaven." Cf. McGuire, *De Nabuthae,* 223.

11. **cum scripta acciperet imperatoris:** When he (Ambrose) received letters, ect. *scripta:* in the sense of *epistola* or *litterae* is Post-class. Cf. K.-Schm. II, 548.

12. **reatus:** Post-class. and Late. Cf. Benoit-Goelzer, s. v.

13. **obsecratus . . . seruatum:** Cf. Letter LXI to Theodosius in which Ambrose explains the reason for his absence from Milan, and having expressed his thankfulness for the success in the war with Eugenius, he urges the Emperor Theodosius to be merciful to the conquered.

14. **scriptis:** on the meaning of this word, cf. n. 11 above.

15. **Joannes tunc tribunus et notarius:** In 394 John was the tribune and notary to Emperor Theodosius. In 408 we read that he was sent by the Roman Senate as a messenger to Alaric and in 409 the usurper Attila nominated him Master of Offices. Honorius raised him to the office of Prefect *praetorio,* which duty he held from June 6, 412 to June 12, 413. (Cod. Theod. XIII, 11, 13; III, 8, 3; XVI, 8, 20.) On July 11th, 422, he was again nominated to this office of Prefect *praetorio.* Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, IX, 1744 s. v. (4).

16. **ad tuitionem:** *ad* with the acc. of the noun to express pur-

pose is already found in Class. Latin, but the frequency of this usage is characteristic of Late Latin. Here it does not depend on the noun, however, but rather on the verb *directus est*. Cf. St.-Schm. 395.

17. **precaturus**: a future part. used to express purpose after a verb of motion was confined in Class. Latin to the poets, but the usage became frequent in Post-class. and Late authors. In Late Latin other verbs not expressing motion were also followed by the fut. part. to express purpose. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 761.

18. **prouolutus**: in the sense of "cast one's self down," is Post-class. Cf. Lv. 6, 3: *se alicui ad pedes*; Curt. 3, 12, 11: *prouolutae ad pedes*; Tac., A. 12, 18, 30: *genibus eius prouolutus* . . .

Section 32.

1. **reuertens . . . de urbe**: In Class. Latin *reuerto* is followed by *ex* and abl.

2. **nec diu . . . fuit**: note the hyperbaton.

3. **superuixit**: Post-class. For similar absolute use of the verb, cf. Suet., Caes. 89; Vulg., Exod. 21, 21; Amm. 18, 3, 5.

4. **in tempore** = **tempore**, cf. Sec. 13, n. 7.

5. **sancti Nazarii martyris (et Celsi)**: The only historical information which we possess regarding these two Saints is the discovery of their bodies by St. Ambrose. No doubt there was a tradition regarding these martyrs among Christians of Milan, which led to the finding of the two bodies. A later legend, however, places the martyrdom of these Saints during the persecution of Nero, but this has no historical foundation. It was believed that both Saints were beheaded in Milan and their bodies were buried separately in a garden without the wall, where St. Ambrose discovered and raised them up in 395. The bodies of the two martyrs were conveyed by St. Ambrose into the new church of the Apostles, which he had just built. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* X, 728; Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 8.

6. **basilicam Apostolorum**: The Church of the Apostles was

built by St. Ambrose in 382 on the model of the church of the Apostles at Constantinople. Later it was dedicated to St. Nazarius and in the eleventh century it was entirely rebuilt, though it retains with modifications the cross form. Cf. Lowrie: *Monuments of the Early Church,* 148.

7. **quando:** The use of *quando* in a temporal meaning is rare in Class. Latin, being confined for the most part to archaic and Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm. 555; K.-Steg. 11, 2, 365.

8. **usque in hodiernum:** meaning "to this day," is Late. Cf. Min. Fel., Octav. 22; Vitr. 3, 1, 8; Aug., de Cons. Evang. 3, 24, 69; cf. K.-Schm. I, 655.

9. **fuisset effusus:** for *esset effusus.*

10. **fuerat abscissum:** for *erat abscissum.*

11. Luc. XXI, 18. The Old Version and Vulgate read: *Capillus de capite uestro non peribit.* "But a hair of your head shall not perish." Our author has *eorum* instead of *uestro.*

Section 33.

1. **Sanctum Celsum martyrem:** St. Celsus is treated in connection with St. Nazarius. Cf. Sec. 32, n. 5.

2. **ad orationem:** for *ad* with the acc. of the noun to express purpose, cf. Sec. 31, n. 16.

3. **sed = et,** cf. Sec. 5, n. 1.

4. **reuelati:** Post-class.

5. **cognouimus . . . quod . . . traditum sit:** on the use of a *quod* clause for the acc. and the inf., cf. Sec. 15, n. 8.

6. **per omnem . . . suorum:** The phrase has a scriptural ring: cf. 1 Mac. II, 61: *Et ita per generationem et generationem.* "And thus consider through all generations." Cf. also Luke I, 50: *Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies.* "And his mercy is from generation unto generation."

7. **generationem:** Post-class. and Late.

8. **progeniem:** in the sense of "a generation of men," eccl. Latin. Cf. Lact., 2, 10, 10; Vulg., Exod. 34, 7.

9. **Et uere . . . furantur:** For the thought, cf. Matth. VI, 19: *Nolite thesaurizare uobis thesauros in terra ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur.* "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth: where the rust and moth consume and where thieves break through and steal." Also Matth. VI, 20: *Thesaurizate autem uobis thesauros in caelo ubi neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur et ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur.* "But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven: where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."

10. Philipp. I, 21. Both the Old Version and Vulgate read: *Mihi enim uiuere Christus est, et mori lucrum.* "For to me, to live is Christ: and to die is gain."

11. **deuotione:** in the sense of "devotion," as here, is eccl. Latin. Cf. T. L. L. V, 879, 19 ff. (Present passage is cited).

12. **depositae fuerant:** for *depositae erant.*

Section 34.

1. **imperator Honorius:** Honorius Flavius, was the son of Theodosius the Great. The latter divided the empire in 395, allotting the western half to Honorius and the eastern to Arcadius. Honorius died in 424.

2. **libycarum ferarum:** animals from Libya, a district of northern Africa between Egypt and Marmarica.

3. **Stilicone comite:** Stilicho, son of a Vandal, entered the service of the Emperor Valens and distinguished himself in many campaigns against the Visigoths. Because of his great abilities as general and civil administrator he became dear to the army and invaluable to the Emperor Theodosius. It is stated that Theodosius on his death-bed gave to Stilicho a general charge to watch over the safety of the East and West, constituting him in a certain degree guardian of Arcadius and Honorius. In 398 the power of Stilicho was at its height. In 400 he was raised to the consulship and again in 405 he was elected to the same office. With the death of Arcadius the greatness of Stilicho begins to decline. Being accused

of treason he was kept in honorable confinement until finally he was sentenced by Honorius as deserving of death, and shortly after was beheaded. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* III, 911-913; Hodgkin, I, 2, 673-675, 757-760.

4. **Eusebii praefecti:** Eusebius was an official of some rank at the court of Honorius in 395 (Cod. Theod. XV, 1, 32) and in the years 395-396 he was the *Praefestus praetorio* of Italy. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa VI, 1369 s. v. (15), where the present passage is also cited.

5. **Cresconius:** mentioned, it seems, only here.

6. **de ecclesia raperetur:** for *rapio* with *de* and the abl., cf. Sec. 12, n. 3.

7. **confugientem ad altare . . . episcopus cum clericis . . . defendendum circumdedit:** this use of *circumdare* = "surround" without a qualifying word or phrase is confined to Post-class. and Late Latin. Cf. T. L. L. III, 1130, 17-47 (the present passage is cited).

8. **duces . . . de perfidia:** for *de* with the abl. to denote source, cf. Sec. 17, n. 1.

9. **praeualuit:** Post-class.

10. **amphitheatrum:** Post-class. Cf. Suet., Aug. 29, 43; Tib. 7; Tit. 8, etc. Cf. T. L. L. I, 1984, 3-77.

11. **fuerant destinati:** for *erant destinati,* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

12. **leopardi:** λεόπαρδος, a Late Latin word. Cf. Vopisc., Prob. 19: *leopardi Libyci;* Lampr., Heliog. 21; Symmach., 7 Ep. 59.

13. **illaesum:** the use of this participle as an adj. is confined to Poetic and Post-class. Latin.

14. **ablatus fuerat:** for *ablatus erat,* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

15. **indulgentia:** Late Latin.

Section 35.

1. **Theodulo . . . notario:** Theodulus was the secretary of St. Ambrose for a time and later became the bishop of Mutina,

where he was held in high esteem by all. Cf. Tillemont, X, 88, 257, 279.

2. **Mutinensem . . . ecclesiam:** the modern Moderna. It is a diocese in the province of Aemilia.

3. I Cor. X, 12. The Old Version reads: *Itaque qui se putat stare uideat ne cadat*, and the Vulgate has: *Itaque qui se existimat stare, uideat ne cadat.* "Wherefore he that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall." Paulinus differs considerably. However we find the same rendering of the verse in Ambrose in Ps. 35 and Ep. 63. Perhaps, as Sabatier suggests, Paulinus took his rendering of this verse from St. Ambrose.

Section 36.

1. **Frigitil:** queen of the Marcomanni. Paulinus is our only source of information for this personage. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.

2. **Marcomannorum:** Marcomanni (Men of the Marches) was a tribe of the Suebi, whose name first appears in Caesar's enumeration of the people led by Ariovistus. Their country, the Marca, extended south to the Danube. Cf. *Cambridge Mediaeval Hist. I, The Christian Roman Empire,* 196.

3. **de Italiae partibus:** for *partes* = *regio,* etc., cf. Sec. 22, n. 4.

4. **qualiter:** Post-class. Cf. Col. 1, 4, 6; Mart., 5, 7, 1.

5. **catechismi:** κατηχισμός eccl. Latin, cited first for Aug. *de Fide et Oper.* 13. The present passage is cited. Cf. T. L. L. III, 559, 25-34.

6. **de hac luce migrauerat:** for similar expression, cf. Cic., De Fin. 1, 19, 62: *migrare de uita. Migrare de* is rarely used in Class. Latin. *Migrare a* is likewise rare, occurring only in Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 187 and Juv. 11, 51. Cf. Reid, *Cicero de Finibus,* 90 n.

Section 37.

1. **Macedonii:** According to Sulpicius Severus (Chron. 2, 48; 5-49, 5), Macedonius was the Master of Offices for a longer time before Emperor Maximus came to the throne. Later he seems

to have become very bitter and unjust to the Christians, favoring the heretics in every way possible. After the death of Gratian he sought refuge in the church but not being able to find the entrance was seized and brought before Symmachus, the Prefect of the city at the time. Most probably, he was condemned to death as nothing more is heard about him after this. Cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der Christlichen Kirche* (1897), 125, 141, 150-151.

2. **magistri officiorum:** The duty of the master of offices was the administration of public affairs. He was the chief magistrate of the palace. It was his duty to look after or inspect the discipline of the civil and military schools. All the appeals from those privileged persons who had obtained the right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges were addressed to him from all the parts of the empire. The correspondence between the ruler and his subjects was likewise looked after by him. Cf. Greenidge, *Student's Gibbon* I, 164; Boak, A. E.-Dunlap. J. E., *Two Studies in Later Roman and Byzantine Administration,* 1-160.

3. **intercedendum perrexisset:** The final use of a gerund or gerundive without a prep. is late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm. 447 Anm. where the present passage is cited.

CHAPTER IX.

Section 38.

1. **abstinentiae:** in the sense of "fasting," as here, is Late and confined mostly to eccl. writers. Cf. Tert., adv. psych. 2; Ambros., Exhort. Virg. 12, 81, 53; Jerome, Patr. 30, 709. Cf. T. L. L. I, 192, 11-83.

2. **uigiliarum:** meaning "vigils," eccl. Latin.

3. **macerans:** poetic. It was taken over into prose in the Post-class. period. Cf. Liv. 26, 13, 8; Curt. 5, 13, 24; Vell. 2, 112, 3; Quint. 12, 10, 77; Aug., append. epist. 19, 25. Cf. K.-Schm. II, 42.

4. **nec . . . libros:** Evidently according to this passage Ambrose did not always avail himself of a *notarius,* as was the custom among the other writers of this period.

The custom of having a *notarius* is very old, as we read of Cicero having Tiro, his freedman and friend, as his stenographer or *notarius*. The *notarii* in the second century were a separate class of officials whose duty it was to take down in shorthand from dictation or public speeches. The *exceptores* were also stenographers but they were employed in the service of the magistrates alone, while the so-called *amanuenses* simply transcribed shorthand records into longhand. From the works of the Fathers we learn that it was a regular custom to have the *notarii* present in the church to take down the sermons as they were being delivered. Cf. Deferrari, R. J., St. Aug. Method of Composing and Delivering Sermons, *Am. Journal of Philol.* V, XLIII, 1922, 97 ff.

propria: used here for a possessive pronoun, cf. Sec. 9, n. 8.

5. **in tantum:** on the use *in tantum*, cf. Sec. 14, n. 6.

6. **circa baptizandos:** We find *circa* with the acc. of the gerund or gerundive in Post-class. Latin, used by Quint., Pliny, and Tacitus, but it becomes more frequent in Late Latin. Cf. also Fronto, 169, 18: *circa quaerendos latrones;* Lact. 1, 569: *circa corrumpendas coniuges occupatus;* Cypr., Ep. 538, 6: *circa impertiendam pacem.* Cf. St.-Schm. 447; K.-Steg. II, 1, 751; Lane, 2253; Gildersleeve-Lodge, 431, n. 1; T. L. L. III, 1091, 46-54.

7. **in tempore:** for the abl. *tempore* alone, cf. Sec. 13, n. 7.

8. **usufructuario:** cited as the only instance of the use of this adj. as neuter subst. by F. F. The adjective—commonly used as a masc. subst.—is cited first for Gaius and then for later Jurists.

9. **hic:** *Hic* and *istic*, as adverbs, are used in religious language to designate this world in opposition to *illic*, the next world. Cf. Meader, 5-128; Goelzer (J), 403; Bayard, 130.

10. **derelinquens:** in the sense of *relinquens*, "leave anything behind," is Post-class. and Late. Sallust employs the verb with a personal object in Jug. 5, 7. Cf. T. L. L. V, 627, 49 ff.

11. 2 Cor. VIII, 9. The Old Version is: *Scitis enim gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui propter uos pauper factus est cum diues esset, ut illius inopia uos diuites essetis.* The Vulgate reads: *Scitis enim gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quoniam propter*

uos egenus factus est, cum esset diues, ut illius inopia uos diuites essetis. "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich, he became poor for your sakes; that through his poverty you might be rich."

Section 39.

1. Cf. Rom. XII, 15: *Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus.* "Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep." *erat . . . gaudens = gaudebat:* the present participle with forms of *sum* instead of a finite verb, seems to have taken its origin from the accepted form *ferens sum.* We find it in Plaut. Amph. 132; Lucr. 3, 396; Cic. Sest. 128; Caes. Gall, 3, 19, 6; and in Late Latin often the present part. without the forms of *sum* is used in the place of a finite verb. Cf. St.-Schm. 495.

2. **siquidem = enim:** *Siquidem* in Late Latin does not differ from *nam* or *enim,* especially when *siquidem* is used with the indicative. Cf. St.-Schm. 593.

3. **ob percipiendam paenitentiam:** *ob* with the gerundive to express purpose is found once in Ennius, and occurs in Class. Latin but sparingly. We meet it in Sall. (Jug. 82, 9), and in Cic. but only in legal terms. It is not frequent in Late Latin either. Cf. St.-Schm. 399; K.-Schm. II, 183.

4. **flere compelleret:** the infin. with *compello* appears first in the Aug. poets. The construction thence passed into Post-class. prose. Cf. Ov., F. 3, 860; Lucan, 3, 144; Curt., 5, 1, 35. Cf. St.-Schm. 422; T. L. L. IV, 2034, 12 ff.

5. **causas . . . homines:** We read that in early ages of Christianity it was a custom with the Christians to practice public confession of their sins. Since sins were confessed publicly, it is evident that there was no need of the seal of confession on the part of the clergy. When then do we first hear of the seal of confession? In the Eastern Church we find St. Basil (†379) in his Second Canonical Letter to Amphilochius and St. John Chrysostom in *In Gen. hom.* 20, 3 and in *De incomprehens. hom.,* 5, 7, writing and speaking emphatically in favor of the seal of confession, considering it a professional obligation. The Fathers of the West-

ern Church, as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, were also advocates of the seal of confession. We read (VII according to Mansi, 1, and c. 5 Mansi 4, 4, 38 B) that at the Council of Carthage, held in 419, at which St. Augustine was present, the first penalty was imposed upon a bishop,—for they alone heard confessions then,—who violated the seal of confession. But it was not until 459 that the first decretal was issued, enjoining secret confession and absolute silence on the part of the confessor, by Pope Leo the Great. Finally in 1215 at the Council of Lateran under Innocent III (Hefele-Leclerq, *Histoire de Conciles*, II, 2, 1077, and Mansi II, 1007 E), the first official decision, touching the entire Church was issued, expressly prohibiting the confessor to betray the penitent. Honoré, L., *Le secret de la Confession*, Paris 1924.

6. **magis . . . quam:** for *potius . . . quam*. On *magis* for *potius*, cf. Sec. 27, n. 6.

7. **secundum:** in the sense of "according to," is Class. but is especially common in eccl. writers. Cf. St.-Schm. 404; K.-Steg. II, 1, 536; Draeger, 599.

8. **circa . . . caritas est:** For the thought, cf. 2 Cor. II, 8: *Propter quod obsecro uos ut confirmetis in illum charitatem.* "Wherefore, I beseech you that you would confirm charity towards him." *circa* with the acc. instead of *in* with the abl. is Post-class. cited first for Livy. Cf. K.-Schm. 280; St.-Schm. 402. T. L. L. III, 1088, 59 ff.

9. **praeuenit:** not found in Cicero or Caesar, but frequent in Livy and late writers. Cf. K.-Schm. 1, 372.

10. **confitendo:** on the use of the abl. of the gerund to express means in place of the pres. part., cf. Sec. 28, n. 13.

11. **ideoque:** as a conclusive particle, cf. Sec. 21, n. 5.

12. Proverb. XVIII, 17: The Old Version has: *Iustus in principio sermonis sui ipse sibi accusator est.* The Vulgate reads: *Iustus prior est accusator sui.* "The just is first accuser of himself."

13. **uocem enim eripit aduersario** for a similar expression, cf. Verg., A. VII, 119: *primam uocem ab ore loquentis eripuit.*

14. Cf. Hebr. IV, 13: Old Version and Vulgate: *omnia autem nuda et aperta (sunt) oculis eius . . .* "but all things are naked and open to his eyes."

15. **et qui uult uitam magis peccatoris quam mortem:** for a similar thought, cf. Ezech. XVIII, 32. The Old Version has: *Quoniam nolo mortem morientis, sed ut auertatur ipse a uia sua mala et uiuat anima eius.* And the Vulgate reads: *Quia nolo mortem morientis, dicit Dominus Deus, reuertimini et uiuite.* "For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God, return ye and live.'

16. **humiliet:** Late Latin.

17. 2 Kings XII, 13: The Old Version has: *abstulit . . . peccatum tuum:* the Vulgate: *transtulit peccatum tuum.* "The Lord hath taken away thy sin."

18. Psal. CI, 10: The Old Version has: *Quia cinerem sicut panem manducabam, et potum meum cum felle miscebam.* The Vulgate reads: *quia cinerem tamquam panem manducabam, et potum meum cum fletu miscebam.* "For I did eat ashes like bread, and mingled my drink with weeping."

Section 40.

1. **amarissime:** for the superlative of *amare* is cited first for Suetonius. T. L. L. 1, 1823, 72 ff. (The present passage is cited.)

2. **nuntiatum . . . fuerat:** for *nuntiatum erat,* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

3. **in tantum:** cf. Sec. 14, n. 6.

4. **nec** = *et non.*

5. **fuerat . . . nuntiatus:** *erat nuntiatus,* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

6. **uel.** = *et,* cf. Sec. 3, n. 4.

7. **praedixit quod . . . esset:** for *praedico* followed by *quod* instead of the inf. and acc., cf. Sec. 15, n. 8.

8. **obsecrando:** on the use of the abl. of the gerund in place of pres. part., cf. Sec. 28, n. 13.

Section 41.

1. **pullulare:** found in Nep., Cat. 2, 3, and then in Verg., Colum., and Late writers according to F. F. Cf. McGuire, *De Nabuthae*, 181-182.

2. **increscere:** is Poetic and from the poets passes into Post-class. prose.

3. **aut . . . aut:** for *uel . . . uel*.

4. Psal. CXL, 4.

5. **quandoquidem . . . ceperit:** for *quandoquidem* followed by the subjunctive, cf. Sec. 2, n. 3.

6. **uel** = *et*.

7. **leuitas:** eccl. Latin.

8. **quibus portio Deus est:** For a similar thought, cf. Deut. XVIII, 2: *Dominus enim ipse est hereditas eorum, sicut locutus est illis.* "For the Lord himself is their inheritance, as he hath said to them."

9. **nec** = *ne . . . quidem*.

10. **fine mundi:** *mundus* in the Class. sense means "the universe"; among the eccl. writers it means "this world," in contrast to "heaven." Cf. Goelzer (J), 403; Bayard, 130.

11. **demergit usque ad profundum:** *demergo*, is generally followed by *in* and the acc. but very rarely by *ad* with the acc. Cf. T. L. L. V, 480, 75 ff. For the phrase *usque ad*, cf. Sec. 13, n. 9.

12. **profundum inferni:** The phrase is scriptural. Cf. Isaias VII, 11 (Old Version): *Pete tibi signum a Domino Deo tuo in altitudinem sursum et altitudinem deorum.* The Vulgate reads: *Pete tibi signum a Domino Deo tuo in profundum inferni.*

13. Luke XVI, 9: The Old Version and the Vulgate read: *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis ut, cum defeceritis, recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula.* "Make unto you friends of the mammon of iniquity that when you shall fail they may receive you into everlasting dwelling."

14. Psal. CXXXVI, 9: The Old Version and the Vulgate read: *Beatus qui tenebit et allidet peruulos tuos ad petram.* "Blessed be he that shall take and dash thy little ones against the rock."

15. **conuersus:** in the sense of "converted," as here, is eccl. Latin. Cf. T. L. L. IV 868, 62 ff.

16. **hoc est, omnes . . . ad Christum:** According to the Fathers of the Church this verse is to be interpreted in a moral sense. The *paruulos* are to be understood as being the first beginnings of faults which being easily conquered, ought to be destroyed at once or while they are yet in an early stage. Cf. Cornelius Lapide, *Commentarii in Sacram Scripturam,* Tom. XIV, 699-700; H. Lesêtre, *La Sainte Bible Le Livre des Psaumes,* 642-643.

17. **ad Christum . . . petra est:** for a similar expression, cf. 1 Cor., X, 4: *petra autem erat Christus.*

18. **secundum:** cf. Sec. 39, n. 7.

19. **inuiolabilis:** Poetic and Post-class.

20. **dicere:** on the use of *dicere* introducing scriptural quotations, cf. Sec. 18, n. 15.

21. Psal. CXVIII, 57: The Old Version has: *Dixi obseruari uerbum tuum, dixis Domine, custodiri legem tuam.* The Vulgate is: *Portio mea Domine.* The Hebr. Version reads: *Pars mea Domine.* "O Lord, my portion."

22. **portio:** In Class. Latin *portio* appears only in the phrase *pro portione.* Otherwise the word is Post-class. and Late. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

23. **insuper:** "moreover," not found in Caesar, rarely in Cicero, Cato, Lucr., Verg., Vitr., Colum., Apul., but frequently in Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm. 417.

24. Matth. XIX, 29: The Old Version has: *et uitam aeternam consequetur.*

Section 42.

1. **lectulo:** the abl. of place where without *in* is confined to a few special words, as *loco, mari, parte, terra,* in Class. prose. This usage became more frequent from Livy on and very common in Late

Latin. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 350. *detinere* = *retinere* is found in Plaut. Verg. Tib. but with a prep. For the same expression Cels. 3, 4: *in lectulo*; 8, 20. *in lecto*. Cf. T. L. L. V, 812, 55 ff.

2. **ipsius:** for *eiusdem*. The earliest instance of *ipse* approaching the meaning of *idem* is in Varro, De Ling. Lat. 9, 84 f. This usage of *ipse* for *idem* is so extensively used by the African writers that some critics seem to believe it to be of African origin. It is also used very frequently by other Late writers in this sense. Cf. Meader, 171-184.

3. **in tempore** = *tempore*. Cf. Sec. 13, n. 7.

4. **retinebam:** in the sense of "to remember," as here, Late Latin. The class. construction is *memoria retinere*.

5. **scribendi uel dictandi . . . finem fecit:** for similar expressions, cf. Cic., Sest. 65, 136: *dicendi finem facere:* De Or. 2, 55, 224: *finem scribendi fecit:* Rep. 2, 44: *finem disputandi facere.* Cf. T. L. L. VI, 781, 21 ff.

6. **uel** = *et*.

7. **ipsum** = *illum*.

8. **visum . . . fuerat:** *visum erat*. Cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

9. **honorabili:** the adjective is rare. F. F., B.-G., and Georges cite only the following instances: Cic. De Sen. 63; Aug. de Civ. Dei, 10, 19, 1; Amm. 30, 4, 16; Vulg. Daniel 13, 4.

10. **Casto diacono:** We read in Tillemont, and Baunard that about the year 375 St. Ambrose founded a *Presbyterium* for the training of the clerics of his diocese. Castus may not have been in charge of the entire *Presbyterium*, but he must have held a distinctive supervisory duty in this model school of Ambrose, since Paulinus gives us to understand that Castus was his superior when he writes *sub cuius cura degebam*. According to Paulinus (Cap. X, 46) Castus remained a deacon all his life, which often happened in the early ages of Christianity. Cf. Tillemont 263, 279, Baronius, *sub ann.* 397, 37-38.

11. **sub . . . cura degebam:** for a similar expression, cf. Plin. Nat. 33, 21: *degunt sub imperio nostro;* Lact. Inst. 5, 22, 14:

sub aliena dicione atque imperio; Veg. 20, 19: *decem militibus sub uno papilione degentibus.* Cf. T. L. L. V, 385, 22 ff. *Cura:* meaning "charge," "protection," "care"; as here, is Poetic and Post-class. Cf. Sen. Dial. 6, 24, 1: *pupillus relictus sub tutorum cura;* Epist. 99, 12: *potuit sub cura tua in meliora formari.* Cf. T. L. L. IV, 1466, 1-81. *Degebam:* on *degere,* "to live," cf. Sec. 4, n. 4.

SECTION 43.

1. **superioribus . . . questus est:** The entire passage is very vague.

2. **commendatus a domino suo:** i. e. Stilicho.

3. **ferebatur . . . quod haberetur faceret:** for *fero* meaning "to assert," "relate," as here, followed by *quod* instead of the acc. and inf. construction, cf. Sec. 15, n. 8.

4. **in tantum:** cf. Sec. 14, n. 6.

5. **decepti fuerant:** *for decepti erant.* cf. Sec. 4, n. 1.

6. **de basilica Ambrosiana egrederetur:** on *egredior* with *de* and the abl., cf. Sec. 21, n. 3.

7. **requiri fecit . . . perduci:** for *facio* with the inf., cf. *Sec.* 7, n. 2.

SECTION 44.

1. **Nicentius:** an extribune and notary, is mentioned also by St. Ambrose in Letter V, 8, to Syagrius, Bishop of Verona, on a charge falsely brought against the virgin Indicia. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 35.

2. **calcatus:** Post-class. Cf. T. L. L. III, 129, 18-20.

3. **audiuit . . . eris:** on *audio,* followed by a direct statement, cf. Sec. 11, n. 9.

4. **amodo:** only in eccl. Latin. Cf. T. L. L. I, 1960, 10-25. The present passage is cited.

5. **saluus eris = salueberis:** *Saluus sum* belongs almost entirely to colloquial language.

6. **doluisse pedes:** *doleo* with acc. of the part affected is Late Latin. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

7. **de . . . migrauit:** for a similar expression, cf. Sec. 36, n. 6.

CHAPTER X.

Section 45.

1. **Ticinensi:** Ticinum or modern Pavia is a diocese in Lombardy, northern Italy. This diocese dates perhaps from the second half of the third century and at present is a suffragan of Milan. For a fuller description of Ticinum, cf. Sec. 8, n. 2.

2. **plurimis diebus:** duration of time is regularly expressed in Class. Latin by the accusative without a prep., although sometimes *per* is added. The abl. is rarely used to denote duration of time in Class. prose. It is common in inscriptions and colloquial Latin generally. Cf. Lane, 1151 and 1355; St.-Schm. 356; McGuire, *De Nabuthae,* 125.

3. **dixisse . . . quod . . . Italiae:** for *dico* followed by *quod* and a finite verb instead of the acc. and the inf. construction, cf. Sec. 15, n. 8.

4. **recedente de corpore:** *recedo* is construed with the prep. *ab* or *ex* and the abl. or even the abl. alone, but *de* with the abl., as here, is frequent only in Late Latin. Cf. St.-Schm. 407; Draeger, 627; K.-Steg. II, 1, 499. For a similar expression, cf. Plaut., Merc. prol. 73: *postquam recessit uita patrio corpore.*

5. **unde** = *igitur:* cf. Sec. 2, n. 5.

6. **interminatus est:** Poetic and Late.

7. **uiuendi . . . commeatum:** in the sense of "prolonging or deferring," as here, is Post-class. and Late. Cf. T. L. L. III, 1826, 47 ff. The present passage is cited.

8. **respondit . . . habemus:** on *respondeo* followed by a direct statement, cf. Sec. 23, n. 8.

9. **timeo mori:** for *timeo* with an inf., cf. Sec. 21, n. 2.

SECTION 46.

1. **in extrema parte porticus:** for the Class. *in extremo portico.* To denote the end or the last part of a thing *extremus* is used usually in immediate agreement with the substantive denoting the whole. Cf. Caes., B. G. 6, 29, 3: *in extreme ponte;* id. 2, 8, 3: *ad extremas fossas.* Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 233.

2. **in uno:** in the sense of "together"; the class. writers use *in unum.*

3. **positi** = ὄντες.

4. **Polemius:** Paulinus seems to be our only source of information on this man. Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. Eccl.* vol. X, 263-264 and 279.

5. **Venerius:** St. Venerius succeeded St. Simplicianus in the see of Milan in 400. He was one of the most distinguished prelates of the time, a friend and supporter of St. John Chrysostom. Among the letters of the latter, Letter 182 was written to St. Venerius about 406. His good work for the Church is also mentioned by Pope St. Athanasius I in Letter II *ad Ioan. Ieresol. Frag. ad Venerium Mediol.* Ennodius (Lit. II, Carm. 79) likewise praised the life and deeds of St. Venerius. He died in 409 in the ninth year of his episcopate. We celebrate his feast on May 4. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 1105 Venerius (1).

6. **Felix:** Felix, seventh bishop of Bologna, a native of Milan, was a pupil and deacon of St. Ambrose. After the war of Theodosius with Eugenius, St. Ambrose chose St. Felix as the bearer of a letter to the emperor Theodosius in which he requests the latter to pardon the guilty and the followers of Eugenius. In this letter (Letter 62) St. Ambrose calls Felix, "my son, the deacon Felix." He became bishop of Bologna about 400 A. D. and held the see until his death in 429 when he was succeeded by St. Petronius. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II, 488.

7. **inuicem se:** In Class. Latin, reciprocity is regularly expressed by *inter se, inter uos,* etc., while in later Latin it was expressed in various ways. From Livy on *inuicem inter se* or *inuicem* alone was employed. *Inuicem se* began to be used from

Tacitus and then became frequent in Late Latin. Cf. Kaulen, 142; K.-Steg. II, 1, 616, ff. Salonius, 239 ff.; St.-Schm. 620.

8. **Simpliciani:** St. Simplicianus, the successor of St. Ambrose in the see of Milan held the see only three years as he was very old when he became bishop. He was highly esteemed by both St. Ambrose and St. Augustine and the latter in Letter XXXVII, addresses him as his "father, most worthy of being cherished with respect and sincere affection." St. Augustine even asks him for criticism of his works which might come to his hands. In St. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* X, 29 and *Conf.* VIII, 1, and 3, we see this great doctor humbly submitting to the fatherly guidance of St. Simplicianus. To him St. Augustine wrote two books, *De Diuersis Quaestionibus* of which the second bears the special title of, *Ad Simplicianum.*

Among the Letters of St. Ambrose there are four addressed to St. Simplicianus: Letters XXXVII, XXXVIII, LXV and LXVII. Letter LXV he concludes with *Vale, et nos parentis affectu dilige, ut facis,* which shows us the warm affection of St. Ambrose for St. Simplicianus. He died 400 A. D. and we celebrate his feast Aug. 16. Cf. Tillemont X, 397-406; Smith and Wace IV, 688-689; *Cath. Encycl.* X, 300.

9. **ab ipsis:** for *ab eis,* cf. Sec. 11, n. 6.

10. **exclamauit . . . bonus:** for *exclamo* followed by a direct statement, cf. Sec. 23, n. 8.

11. **tertio:** in the sense of "three times," "thrice," as here, is Late Latin. Cf. Pall. 1, 11, 2; Treb. Gall. 17.

12. **aeui maturus:** The use of the genitive after adjectives had its beginning with the Augustan poets who not wishing to use a prepositional construction adopted the Greek construction of a gen. after adjectives. It becomes frequent in Late Latin. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 443. For a similar expression, cf. Verg. A. 5, 73.

13. **defuncto** = *mortuo,* cf. Sec. 9, n. 11.

14. **trina uoce:** *trini* is employed in the Class. period but everywhere in the plural. In the singular it is used only by Post-class. writers.

15. **signauerat** = *designare, significare,* is rare in Class. prose, being cited only for Cicero (Or. 19, 64). It is more common, however, among the poets and in Post-class. prose.

16. **uel** = Cf. Sec. 3, n. 4.

Section 47.

1. **Bassiano episcopo:** St. Bassianus, Bishop of Lodi, was one of the bishops who condemned the Arians, Palladius and Secundianus, as heretics, at the Council of Aquileia. Cf. Ambrose, *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis Contra Palladium et Secundianum Haereticos.* He is also mentioned by St. Ambrose in Letter IV to Felix, bishop of Como, inviting him to the consecration of a church by Bassianus. St. Bassianus died in 413 A. D., and was buried in the church which he dedicated in honor of the Holy Apostles at Lodi, of which city he is the Patron Saint. His feast is celebrated Jan. 19. Cf. Smith and Wace I, 298.

2. **Laudensis ecclesiae** (Church of Lodi): Lodi, the capital of a district in the province of Milan, is situated on the right bank of the Adda. It is reported that under Diocletian, about 4000 Christians with their bishop, whose name is unknown, were burned in their church. In the Middle Ages Lodi was second to Milan among the cities of northern Italy. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* IX, 322; Baedeker's *Northern Italy,* 299.

3. **usque ad:** Cf. Sec. 13, n. 9.

4. **emisit spiritum:** for a similar expression, cf. Matth. XXVII, 50: *Clamans uoce magna emisit spiritum.*

5. **expansis:** Poetic and Post-class. prose.

6. **Honoratus sacerdos ecclesiae Vercellis:** Honoratus, bishop of Vercelli succeeded Limenius bishop, who was the immediate successor of St. Eusebius. He received his education in the Presbyterium founded by St. Eusebius and faithfully followed his master and teacher in his zeal for orthodoxy. He was an intimate friend of St. Paulinus of Nola as well as of St. Ambrose to whom he administered the Holy Viaticum at his last hour. His feast is celebrated Oct. 29. Cf. Smith and Wace III, 137-138.

7. **ecclesiae Vercellis:** The archdiocese of Vercelli is in the province of Novara, Piedmont, Italy. Saints Sabinianus and Martialis, bishops from Gaul, according to ancient legend, were the first to preach the Gospel here in the second half of the third century. The episcopal see however, was not established till after the peace of Constantine. St. Eusebius, a Sardinian, a lector of the Roman Church and a strenuous opponent of Arianism, was its first bishop. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XV, 348-349.

8. **tertio:** meaning "three times," Late Latin. Cf. Sec. 46, n. 11.

9. **modo:** in the sense of "now," the equivalent of *nunc* is Ante-class. and appears again in this meaning in Livy and Late Latin. Cf. Juret (2), 42; K.-Schm. II, 93.

10. **Domini corpus:** *Corpus* in the sense of the "Body of the Christ in the Holy Eucharist," as here, is eccl. Latin. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 1019, 45 ff.

11. **glutiuit:** dipel for Plautus (once) then for Post-class. and Late writers.

12. **in uirtute:** *In* with the ablative to express means occurs as early as Propertius but becomes frequent only in Late Latin, especially in the writings of the Fathers. This is due probably to the influence of the Greek construction with ἐν found in the Bible. Cf. St.-Schm., 412; Salonius, 103; K.-Steg. II, 1, 564.

13. **refectior:** the comparative of *refectus* is cited only for Mart. Capell. 249: *Ut refectior caelum sublimisque conscendas.* Cf. Neue-Wagner II, 139.

14. **consortio:** Post-class., cf. Sec. 19, n. 9.

15. **iste** = *ille.*

Section 48.

1. **defunctus est** = *mortuus est.* Cf. T. L. L. V, 377, 32-83.

2. **fonte:** among eccl. writers often used of baptism. Cf. Firm., err. 28, 1: Aug., c. Jul. 2, 5, 12; Sedul., Carm. pasch. 5, 421. *Fons* is also used for the place where baptism was administered. The baptistery was usually a separate building, often octagonal or round, with a pool in which the sacrament was admin-

istered by immersion. We have no remains of baptisteries beyond the 12th cent.; hence it is difficult to furnish an adequate description of an early baptistery. Most probably Paulinus makes reference here to such a baptistery as described above. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 1024, 53 ff.; also Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* V, 1873-1874.

3. **cathedra:** originally *cathedra* meant a chair used by rhetors in giving their instructions in school. Later this chair was transferred into the church and was used by the bishop, immediately taking on a liturgical meaning. Wherever a bishop placed his *cathedra,* or chair, that church became the episcopal church or the official seat of the bishop; hence our present cathedral. From now on the *cathedra* and church became inseparable and created an ecclesiastical unity or diocese. In the second half of the fourth century the *cathedra* was elevated and could be reached only by ascending steps. Cf. Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* III, 19-75; also T. L. L. III, 612, 1 ff.

4. **tribunali** = sanctuary or the space in the church containing the main altar. Around the sanctuary there may be "stalls" or seats for the clergy. This part of the church was variously designated *tribuna* or tribunal, being one of the many names given to it. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XIII, 431-432; Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* I, 183-197.

5. **mundatos:** in the sense of "clean from sin," as here, eccl. Latin. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

6. **de ecclesia leuaretur:** *leuo* is cited as used with *e* or *a* but not with *de,* as here.

7. **usque in hodiernum:** meaning "to this day," cf. Sec. 32, n. 8.

8. **oraria:** Late Latin and rare, cited first for Vasp. Cf. Benoit-Goelzer and Georges, s. v.

9. **semicinctia:** Post-class. first cited first for Petr., cf. Benoit-Goelzer, and Georges, s. v.

10. **aliquatenus:** Post-class. first cited for Sen. cf. T. L. L. I, 1605, 73 ff. (The present passage is cited.)

11. **exsequiarum:** genitive of identity.

12. **totius** = *omnis,* cf. St.-Schm. 628; K.-Schm. II, 667; K.-Steg. II, 1, 351.

13. **totiusque** = *omnisque.*

14. **fuerant baptizati:** *erant baptizati.*

Section 49.

1. **obiit:** in the sense of "to die," as here, is not found in Cicero but becomes frequent in Post-class. and Late Latin.

2. **textus:** Poetic and Post-class.

3. **suscepta est** = *accepta est. suscipere* in the sense of *accipere* is Late Latin. For similar usage, cf. Festus, Cap. 28: *oppida suscepit dedita;* the class. construction would be: *in deditionem accipere;* also Jerome, Epist. 72, 5. Cf. T. L. L. I, 311, 71 ff.

4. **de partibus orientis:** on *partes* = *regio,* cf. Sec. 22, n. 4.

5. **directa** = *missa.* Cf. Sec. 12, n. 12.

6. **monasterio:** *μοναστήριον,* eccl. Latin.

7. **directa est** = *missa est.* Cf. Sec. 12, n. 12.

8. **defunctus est** = *mortuus est.* Cf. Sec. 48, n. 1.

Section 50.

1. **Zenobius:** St. Zenobius, Bishop of Florence, was a friend of St. Ambrose, and much esteemed by Pope St. Damasus. Being a pagan, he came under the influence of Bishop Theodore, who baptized him. Later he embraced the clerical state and his virtues and power as a preacher brought him to the attention of St. Ambrose and Pope Damasus. The latter employed him in various important missions. Antoninus, his successor and biographer, tells us that he died in his ninetieth year in 424. His feast is celebrated May 24. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* XV, 755.

2. **Radagaisus:** Leader of the Germanic tribe, was a Scythian according to Jornandes. He invaded Italy in 406 and after destroying many towns and laying seige to Florence he was hemmed in by

Stilicho. Owing to the shortness of provisions he was compelled to come forth and join in battle. He was driven back and capitulated and finally put to death. His followers were sold as slaves. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* III, 640; *Cambridge, Mediaeval Hist. I, The Christ. Roman Empire,* 265.

3. **de se . . . desperassent:** *despero* followed by *de* and the abl. occurs once in Cic. (Epist. 10, 21, 3) and then in Livy, Quint. Tert. and Lact. Cf. T. L. L. V, 741, 18-37.

4. **per uisum:** for *in uisu* is Late. Cf. K.-Schm. 274.

Section 51.

1. **Mascezeli:** Mascezel, brother of Gildo, was placed by Stilicho at the head of the Roman troops because of his bravery in the revolt of Firmus. He was sent with 36,000 men against Gildo, who in 398, refusing to allow the grain from Africa to be transported to Rome, brought about this Gildonic War. Mascezel was successful in this war, as the whole army of Gildo surrendered themselves up to him. He did not long survive his brother, for, as history tells us, Stilicho, envious of this success of Mascezel, threw him off a bridge into a river to drown. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* II, 267-268; *Cambridge Mediaeval Hist. Vol* 1, *Christiam Roman Empire,* 263.

2. **desperanti de salute:** for *despero* with *de* and the abl. Cf Sec. 50, n. 3.

3. **uel** = *et.*

4. **Gildonem:** Gildo, the son of Nubel, brother of Firmus, revolted against the Romans during the reign of Valentinian. Matters were finally brought to a crisis under Honorius and war broke out in 398 when he refused to allow the grain crops to be conveyed to Rome. This war is vividly described by Claudian in his *De Bello Gildonico.* The author calls him a tyrant, detestable for cruelty and avarice. Stilicho, who fitted out the expedition, placed Mascezel at the head of the army, who had cruel wrongs of his own to avenge upon Gildo, his brother. The latter was defeated by Mascezel and according to Gibbon, C, XXIX, died by his own hand, but

other historians seem to believe that he was murdered. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II, 672; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* II, 267-268; *Cambridge Mediaeval Hist. I, Christian Roman Empire,* 262-264.

5. **noctis:** It is the use of the genitive of the noun in place of the adjective. ***uisu noctis* = *uisu nocturno.***

6. **baculo:** meaning a bishop's staff, as here is Late Latin. Cf. T. L. L. II, 1670, 52 ff. (The present passage is cited.)

7. **tertio:** Cf. Sec. 46, n. 11.

8. **ait:** *Hic, hic, hic:* Anadiplosis.

9. **uisitatione:** cited for Virg. 9, 4; otherwise Late Latin.

10. **fuerat arbitratus:** for *erat arbitratus.*

11. **die tertia:** for *dies* in the feminine, cf. Sec. 25, n. 2.

12. **consummauit:** Post class. but in the sense of *finire,* as here, is Late. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 60, 3, 67 ff.

13. **positi** = ὄντες, cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

Section 52.

1. **Sisinni etiam et Alexandri martyrum:** Sisinnius, Alexander, and Martyrius were martyred by the pagans at Anaunia, near Trent. Sisinnius, a Greek from Cappadocia, ordained deacon by Vigilius, bishop of Trent, was then sent to convert the neighboring pagans to Christianity, as they still worshipped Saturn. The account of the sufferings of these martyrs is found in two extant letters written by Vigilius, one to St. Simplicianus of Milan and the other to St. John Chrysostom. We celebrate their feast May 29. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 704; *Cath. Encycl.* XI, 338; XV, 426.

2. **hoc est.** Cf. Sec. 8, n. 5.

3. **Anauniae:** A canton about ten leagues from Trent to the northwest, along the river which today is called La Noce. Cf. Tillemont, X, 512. *In Anauniae partibus:* on *partes* = *regiones.* Cf. Sec. 22, n. 4.

4. **persequentibus:** in the sense of "*persecuti,*" as here, *persequor* is eccl. Latin.

5. **gentilibus:** in the sense of "heathens," "pagans," as here, eccl. Latin. Cf. Georges, s. v.; K.-Schm. s. v.

6. **susciperemus:** for *acciperemus.* Cf. Sec. 49, n. 3.

7. **loculo:** dim. of *locus.* In the sense of "coffin," "casket," as here, Post-class. and Late. Cf. Plin., nat. 7, 75; Just. 39, 1, 6. Cf. K.-Schm. 1, 30.

8. **per uisum noctis:** *per* for *in* is Late. Cf. Sec. 50, n. 4; Sec. 51, n. 5.

9. **de turba** = *ex turba.*

10. **audiuit . . . lumen:** for *audio* followed by a direct statement, cf. Sec. 11, n. 9.

11. **de litore:** for *e litore.*

12. **loculo:** cf. n. 7, above.

CHAPTER XI.

Section 53.

1. Ps. C, 5. The Old Version is: *Detrahentem aduersus proximum suum occulte, hunc persequebantur,* and the Vulgate reads: *Detrahentem secreto proximo suo, persequebar.* "The man that in private detracted his neighbor, him did I persecute."

2. Proverbs XX, 13: The Old Version is: *Noli diligere detrahere ne extollaris,* and the Vulgate reads: *Noli diligere somnum ne te egestas opprimat.* "Love not sleep, lest poverty oppress thee. Paulinus uses the Greek Version of the Proverbs. Cf. Sabatier, Tom. II, p. I, 328, n. 13, who cites Hier. 1, 3 contra Rufin. col. 473, and Anon. apud S. Paulin Epist ad Celanc. to m. 2, 14 as using the same version. The present passage is likewise cited here.

Section 54.

1. **Donatus:** a presbyter of Milan but African by birth, mentioned probably only here. Cf. Tillemont, X, 267.

2. **positus:** Cf. Sec. 1, n. 5.

3. **Aurelii episcopi:** St. Aurelius, archbishop of Carthage from 388 to 423, was a fellow worker of St. Augustine. During his episcopate we hear of the first beginnings of Pelagianism as well as of the great struggles of the Donatists to uphold their sect. He met and withstood both these blows with decision and wisdom. He denounced Pelagianism by excommunicating and driving Coelestius, a disciple of Pelagius, from Carthage. In 416 both Coelestius and Pelagius were condemned in a synod held at Carthage. We find him mentioned in the African martyrology on July 20. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.* II, 108.

4. **Vincentio colossitano episcopo:** Vincentius was the bishop of Culusitanum and the main factor in the Carthaginian Conference held in 411. In 407 he joined Fortunatus of Sicca in a mission to Honorius to request that representatives be appointed for the support of the causes of the African Church before the imperial tribunal. Again in 418 he was chosen from the province of Carthage as a member of the judicial committee, consisting of three bishops from each province, to act on behalf of the African episcopate. He was also present at a council held at Carthage in 419. Cf. Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* IV, 1154.

5. **Colossitano:** Culcitanum, Cullicitanum or Culusitanum is a place in the pro-consular province of Africa, but placed between Rusiccada and Hippo by Antoninus. We learn of bishops being named from that place for the years 348 (Mansi, Act. Con. III, 147), 411 (Mansi, IV, 123), 419 (Mansi 419, 433, 436, 508, 509). In some places it is mentioned as Culsitanum rather than Culusitanum. The references from the year 484 and 649 show that it was a town belonging to a pro-consular province. Cf. Mansi, VIII, 647, 649, Vol. X, 940. Also P.-Wissowa, Vol. IV, 1754.

6. **Murano episcopo:** Probably mentioned only in this passage.

7. **Bolitano:** Bolita, in ancient times known as Volita, is in the province of Zeugitana, otherwise called Proconsular Africa. Cf. Bingham, J., Antiquities of the Christian Church, I, 412-413; also Pauly-Wissowa III, 675.

8. **sed** = *et.*

9. **hospitabatur:** Post-class. cf. Cod. Theod. 7, 8, 4; Petr. 77. 4.

SECTION 55.

1. **unde** = *igitur.* Cf. Sec. 2, n. 5.

2. **magis** = *potius.*

3. **resurrectione:** eccl. Latin.

SECTION 56.

1. **beatitudinem:** title of honor especially in speaking of or addressing a bishop. Cf. Jerome, Epist. 15, 5, *et saepe;* Rufin., Apol. ad Anast. 1; Aug., Grat. Christ., 31, 33; Serm. ad Mai. 107, 1; Paul. Med., adv. Cael. 1; *et passim;* cf. T. L. L. II, 1726, 16 ff.

2. **digneris:** mostly Poetic and Post-class. On the use of *digneris* with the infin. cf. Sec. 15, n. 5.

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